

INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITIES FOR WOMEN

Some Case Studies



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COMMUNITY HEALTH CELL

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Some Case Studies

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We are indebted to the National Labour Institute for leading us to many interesting projects—in fact we may safely say that they were the best, if not the only source of information in Delhi on rural workers. To Vijay Kulkarni and Arvind Das of the National Labour Institute, New Delhi, we owe a special debt.

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We interviewed a few hundred women-workers to try to understand the work they were doing. Here, too, we found happy collaboration and learnt a great deal. To these women this book is dedicated.

We would like to record our appreciation of the gentle, understanding support of Sarojini Abraham of UNICEF, Delhi, who started us on this venture.

Dedicated
to
THE RURAL WOMAN-WORKER

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Part I: PROJECT IDENTIFICATION

- I-1 INTRODUCTION**
- I-2 SYNOPTIC VIEW OF SELECTED
PROJECTS**
- I-3 EMERGING PATTERNS AND
POLICY IMPLICATIONS**

I-1 Introduction

AIM

This book is an attempt to describe endeavours which have been effective in supporting women in their quest for income. The description is oriented towards assisting those who wish to design and implement employment programmes for women. Thus, the emphasis is not so much on project evaluation as it is on transferring knowledge of the various elements of a successful attempt to those who wish to imitate it. Therefore, the fundamental thread or question that runs through the book is an attempt to answer the question: How?

It is our hope that there will be a wide range of end-users for this book. First, those for whom it was specifically written, namely, organisations/agencies, whether official or non-official, who wish to set up schemes by which fairly large numbers of poor rural women could earn a steady income. They can be identified as those in government handling areas such as Labour, Industry, Education and Social Welfare; Agriculture and Rural Development, Health and Family Planning both at the Planning Commission and at the State and Central Government Ministries, who are likely to develop or use employment schemes to achieve their goals.

Apart from the Ministries concerned at the apex, there are a number of developmental organisations such as the All-India Handicrafts Board, the Khadi and Village Industries Commission, the Central Social Welfare Board and various other commodity boards who have their own budget for strengthening the economic base of rural India.

Amongst the non-official agencies, there are an enormous number of possible users. Apart from women's organisations there are voluntary agencies, international agencies both U.N. and outside who are looking for ways in which the burden of poverty on the rural poor can be reduced. We hope that these groups will also find this manual useful.

The relevance of the book could extend beyond the obvious goal of developing employment programmes, as the increment in income could be used as an entry point towards the mobilisation of women for social development.

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This is based on the premise that genuine strong organisations of the majority of rural women, that is, those representing the masses, are basically created through the ability of that organisation to provide some assistance to the rural woman in her economic roles. Once such an organisation can be built through the self-interest of the women concerned, it becomes a ready instrument to absorb the other services which populations need such as education, health, population control and so on.

Hence in the rural development strategy, projects such as those described provide the possible models for people interested in planning full employment at the block level, including employment guaranteed schemes, as well as those seeking methodologies for reaching the poorest rural women with services other than employment.

CRITERIA FOR SELECTING PROJECTS

The projects have been chosen to reflect a variety of conditions and issues.

A first criterion was that they should have a large catchment of women-workers. The largest is the Khadi group in Tiruppur which has a catchment of 60,000 women. The smallest of the selected projects, in this sense, is the Lijjat Centre at Valod that provides employment to 480 women.

This criterion was given the highest priority in selection as there is a tendency in the strategies for integrating women in development to have a list of 'schemes' providing work for women which when translated into action usually leads to small production units employing 5-25 women in a range of light engineering and consumption goods products.

This type of focus has been one of the major drawbacks and impediments in reaching larger masses of women in rural areas, most of whom are already engaged in economic activities and need to be strengthened in these activities through physical inputs and /or skill/training inputs.

The tendency to look at these small schemes as generating women's employment has led not only to the neglect of the masses of women and their needs on the employment and income fronts, but also their needs on the non-economic front such as in health, education and training. They tend to be neg-

lected by the agricultural development programmes, not to mention the directorate of employment and training.

The whole system is geared to the absorption into the 'employed' of those in urban areas, especially of women.

The characteristics of the female labour force different, as they are from the male labour force, can be understood only if the workers in these large massive endeavours are investigated. Hence the effort that was made in this book to avoid the "small schemes" and identify projects through the criterion of the numbers employed or serviced.

The second priority criterion was that the projects should have the potential of becoming viable-bankable projects if not from the start then in a reasonable period. Mass employment projects are usually associated with indefinite subsidies and strains on the national budget. The selected projects have all been "profit-making" in the sense that the initial capital becomes rolling capital and, in one case, is totally replaced by returns.

Locationally they range from India's north to south as well as east and west. Product-wise, they cover handicrafts, agro-based industry, khadi spinning and weaving. In terms of the style of work, they cover home production as well as shed production, part time as well as full time employment, primary income as well as supplementary income, and also work sharing patterns where men and women complement one another's work in the household as contrasted to work done only by women.

The majority of rural families work in occupations and styles where the men, women and children combine to produce. We felt it was important to try to disentangle the women-component in this, understand its value and implications; as well as to describe schemes which had such "household" participation so that we do not exclude a very common feature of work in India and other traditional economies. The pre-weavers of Jammu and Kashmir represent such women—whose employment depends on the employment of the rest of the household, as the rest of the household depends on its work.

Those planning employment, or rural development for that matter tend to treat the family as a homogeneous unit and presume that programmes which reach these units, namely, the families, would automatically reach all members of the family. However experience, as well as research, has revealed that there is

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unequal distribution of income and goods and services within the family, especially as they slide down the income scale. Nutrition, health, education, to mention a few elements, are less accessible to women than men, whether child or adult within the family.

Second, traditionally, the workload and the specific jobs of men and women vary substantially and so programmes that are designed to reach the male householder, fail to serve the needs of women.

Third, women especially amongst the poor are the providers of the basic minimum household needs. It is their responsibility to provide food, shelter and nutrition to all the members of the family. It is not uncommon for the household to be abandoned by men who have left to seek work or for other reasons. Differences between male and female uses of income reveals that female income goes more regularly and in larger proportion to sustain the lives of the family than male income which may go into less essential consumption.

Under these circumstances, it seemed vital to include projects on this criterion of joint production as opposed to separate or unrelated economic roles. It has been found that in joint production operations, women perform lower skilled tasks, however essential, and can be displaced if those tasks are 'upgraded' by machine shed production or improved skills.

While the Valod site (in Gujarat) and the Sursand site in Bihar are schemes directed only at women, and within it one may find pluses and minuses, the Pampore (J&K) and Tiruppur (Tamil Nadu) sites are 'mixed' in that men and women are involved and jointly benefit.

Another aspect of project selection that needs explanation is that no project would appear perfect. Valod, relatively the most competent of the three, still falls short because it can absorb only women who have reasonable housing, and domestic hygiene. In the other two, the inadequacies are greater. The Kashmiri women need far more direct support than is at present being given by the Dastakar Anjuman, and in Tiruppur the female spinners do not appear in equal numbers as other artisans in the councils of decision-making,

Yet these projects were selected because, relative to others, they have several positive features. They provide steady employment at reasonable wages to poor rural persons throughout the

year. They are able to manage the financial resources for such an endeavour, even if it is not "commercially" viable. Workers are associated around the economic activity, and their numbers are large. What may, therefore, seem an inadequacy, must be seen in larger perspective, and may then be accounted a measure of success rather than a failure, if seen within the perfectionist's design.

It is our hope that even as we have selected these projects as successful endeavours, the gaps we have emphasized will be noticed by the project personnel and steps taken further to improve their pattern.

METHODOLOGY OF SELECTION

Forty-five current projects employing rural women, were selected on the basis of desk research and a series of interviews in New Delhi with officials, voluntary agencies, research institutions and organisations related to welfare and rural development.

The information thus collected was scrutinised in order to identify projects which satisfied the following criteria:

- Employment should be provided to women from the poorest rural households, including scheduled tribes and castes, and landless agricultural labourers. This employment should be 'regular' and cover about 100 women or more.
- The project activity should be representative of the range of activities that rural women are usually engaged in, i.e. agricultural cultivation, agro-based village industries, handicrafts and handlooms; and
- The organisation and implementation of the project should offer a worthwhile model for description, analysis and recommendation.

The scrutiny yielded 26 projects in various states of the country which appeared to satisfy all the criteria. These projects included *formal* projects with standard characteristics of production and organisations, and *informal* projects that linked catchments of rural women-workers through a departmental activity,

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extension service, etc. These projects were visited by investigators to verify their functioning and effectiveness.

The final list of four projects was prepared on the basis of field investigation reports. Three of the projects were considered successful in terms of providing steady employment and enhancing welfare through skilled management and marketing. The fourth project provided a contrast to the successful projects, as it was an unsuccessful endeavour to provide self-sustaining long term employment to rural women. The four projects, shown below, are spatially distributed across the country.

1. Pappad-making at Shri Grah Mahila Udyog Lijjat Pappad, Valod, Gujarat (Agro-based Industry, Lijjat).
2. Hand spinners at Tamil Nadu Sarvodaya Sangh, Tamil Nadu (Handloom, Khadi and Village Industries).
3. Handloom pre-weaving at Dastakar Anjuman, Pampore, Jammu and Kashmir (Handloom, Khadi and Village Industries).
4. Sikki Grass Handicrafts work in North Bihar (Handicrafts, All India Handicrafts Board).

The projects were not administered by a single organisation, except in one case (pappad-making), and drew women from a large rural hinterland. In order to capture all relevant facets of the project and employment, a three-strata investigation design was employed.

This involved canvassing two schedules at the site for primary data collection. The central field organisation or core unit of the project represented the 'Organisation' strata, which was canvassed in a questionnaire relating to the project organisation and operation.

The participants strata related to the women-workers who received employment through the project. Approximately 70 women-workers were interviewed at each project site to assess the socio-economic impact on their lives, of employment in the project. A separate schedule was used for each worker. This sample was divided among two or three villages serviced by the project to capture varying levels of penetration by the reviewed projects.

On the basis of this sample survey, rough socio-economic

profiles of the women-workers have been constructed for each project. These profiles are included in relevant sections of each project description.

The third stratum was represented by the composite presence of *Supporting Institutions* both official and non-official, which provided the initial impetus and/or continue to assist the project by extending infrastructural support. These institutions were interviewed to probe the nature of their association with the project under review. On account of the range of institutions and their objectives vis-a-vis the project, a standard questionnaire was not canvassed, interviews were specific to each institution.

I-2 Synoptic View of Selected Projects

PAPPAD-MAKING AT THE LIJJAT PAPPAD CENTRE, VALOD, GUJARAT

The Lijjat Pappad Centre in Valod is nine years old, and provides work to approximately 480 women, of whom approximately 165 are Muslim. It is "take-home" work and the women earn about Rs. 100-Rs. 150 a month, for about five to six hours of work a day. They work on an average for 20-25 days a month.

In order to get this turnover organised, they employ about 12 men and 10 women as staff. These persons range in education and skills from primary school drop-outs to graduates and are hired from the same village. Pappad rolling is a common household skill in Gujarat and the women by and large, pick up specialised commercial skills on the job.

Finance of the order of Rs. 1.3 lakhs is required every month as working capital.

The annual sales currently average about Rs. 22 lakhs (1976-77). A sum of Rs. 40,000 is generated as gross profits every month, of which Rs. 8000-Rs. 9000 is the net profit. After all costs have been covered, the rest is given as dividends to the women-workers.

Approximately 8 per cent of the earnings are compulsorily saved for each worker. This amount at present totals about Rs. 85,000 accumulated over nine years. The members are allowed to draw on this whenever they have an important need.

The central characteristic of the organisation is the distribution of dough which is prepared at the centre itself according to a strict formula. This is collected by the women from the centre every morning and rolled pappads are brought back to the centre the same evening. The organisers check the rolled pappads and the payment is made on the basis of the quantity rolled.

The success of the scheme may be said basically to depend on two factors—the managerial supervisory skill of those women and men who staff the organisation which ensures the excellent quality maintained uniformly in all the pappad packet throughout the year, and the innate skill of the women of the region to roll fine pappads.

One aspect of pappad-making that does pose a problem is that it presupposes a clean place for storage of dough and for rolling. The homes of the poorest, especially if they are hovels, are not clean owing to congestion and animals. Hence the scheme either precludes much of the target groups or it requires that they be brought to work in a shed, as has been done in the Golan branch of this centre. While such a system would take care of hygiene, it deprives itself of one important positive attribute of the scheme, i.e. its "take-home" pattern of work. This is the most vulnerable aspect of the scheme.

HAND SPINNING AT THE TAMIL NADU SARVODAYA SANGH TIRUPPUR, TAMIL NADU

The Tamil Nadu Sarvodaya Sangh (TNSS) established in 1958, has brought employment to approximately one lakh persons in 75,000 poor rural households in Tamil Nadu in spinning and weaving of cotton khadi as well as some village industries. Sixty thousand of the workers are female spinners, earning an average wage of Rs. 100 per month for 11–12 months in the year working for approximately 300 days a year.

The Tamil Nadu Sarvodaya Sangh, an erstwhile element of the All-India Spinner's Association, is a voluntary agency which has established 750 rural field production centres all over the state, with a concentration around Tiruppur, the headquarters of the apex organisations. The total annual turnover of the TNSS is Rs. 9 crores, of which Rs. 5 crores is the wage component.

Approximately 100 spinners/weavers are affiliated to each field production centre, which has a core managerial-cum-supervisory staff of four personnel. Managerial staff is often drawn from among the workers, who participate in matters relating to wages and prices. The workers belong to an Artisan Society, but function as discrete production units. Raw material (cotton or yarn) is provided to workers at the Centre, which is generally spun or woven in home production units. Payment is piece-rate, in cash on delivery at the Centre. The annual production of a field centre is approximately Rs. 1.5 to Rs. 25 lakhs. Workers are assisted with credit for purchasing equipment, but

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are free to accept work additional to that provided by the Centre.

The nucleus autonomous production unit in the field is the Primary Society, which comprises three to four Artisan Societies. These societies generally supply the output of their constituent field centres to "District" Committees or "Sanghs". Each "District" represents an annual turnover of approximately Rs. 25 lakhs, a total capital investment of approximately Rs. 10 lakhs, and a managerial staff of 75–100 workers. Thus four to five primary societies are linked to each District Committee. The 53 district committees supply the output to the central TNSS organisation at headquarters, Tiruppur. The marketing cell of the central organisation is linked to Tamil Nadu and several other states of the country. The central TNSS organisation also coordinates the activities of the district committees in the supply of raw materials and training.

The focus on decentralisation and self-reliance is clearly the single most important feature which has contributed to the success of the TNSS project. Production has been decentralised almost completely and marketing is in the process of being deliberately attenuated. A unique feature of marketing is the supply to the local market at the block or district level, which accounts for approximately 25 per cent of the total turnover. The central TNSS organisation regards the orientation for local consumption as a critical element of self-reliance.

In addition to providing steady employment, the TNSS has introduced welfare schemes through the People's Education Programme (PEP), which imparts training at the field centres in accounting, maintenance of tools, hygiene and provides lessons in elementary general knowledge. The PEP is also supported by a small medical service. Investigation shows that women-workers are more interested participants of PEP activities than their male colleagues.

WOOLLEN HANDLOOM WEAVERS OF PAMPORE AND CHADURA, J&K

The Dastakar Anjuman, a registered non-profit society, was established in 1966 to provide work to women specially in poorer households. And this is precisely what it has done for the

woollen handloom weaving households up in the Kashmir mountains. Approximately 800 to 1000 persons including about 600 to 800 women and children, draw sustenance from this operation. The average employment period is seven hours a day but there are wide variations in the number of days a year for which work is available for different households. A majority of those employed however get work for 180 days or more a year.

Essentially, the Anjuman acts as a bridge between the isolated rural households, on the one hand, and the market, the sources of credit and raw materials, on the other. It employs about 72 persons in 12 field centres backed by four main centres which also have facilities for final finishing of woollen fabrics and a number of sales depots. These centres plan work for the weaving households, provide raw material and designs and inspect and collect woven material when ready and arrange for payment of wages to workers.

All manufacturing is on a cottage basis and almost the whole family is involved in various operations. Women and children mainly carry out the pre-weaving operations up to the stage of preparation of the warp and men do the weaving. The industry is traditional and the skill is hereditary. Most workers still use the traditional throw shuttle looms though nearly 40 per cent by now have acquired fly shuttle looms.

Since agriculture provides work for only about four months a year for the agricultural households owing to the severe winter, the weaving activity is the only important subsidiary occupation in the Kashmir Valley to keep them engaged in the non-agricultural season. On an average, over 40% of the total household income is derived from weaving though for individual families the range is very high from Rs. 500 to Rs. 5000 per annum. The programme essentially serves the poorer households in the state; the per capita income of the weaving households is considerably below the state average.

Two principal factors contribute to the success of the scheme. First the Anjuman itself has set up a competent, alert and responsive overhead organisation. It has successfully developed sales outlets, on the one hand, and field organisation to service the weaving households, on the other. The second important factor is the substantial and prompt financial support provided by the Khadi & Village Industries Commission to the Anjuman which

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enables the latter to acquire adequate stock of raw materials, finance, production and stocks of finished products.

SIKKI GRASS HANDICRAFT WORK AT SURSAND, BIHAR

In the last 15 years three Sikki Sanchayan Kendras (Sikki Procurement Centres) have been set up in villages Sursand, Gaunaha and Sarsobpahi of districts Sitamarhi, Champaran and Madhubani respectively, of North Bihar. These centres serve as collection points for articles made by craftswomen from 'Sikki', a long-stemmed grass which grows on the river banks in the area during the monsoon months.

Approximately 200 women are enrolled at the three procurement centres. The women purchase the grass, make articles at home (for an average of four to five day-light hours) and take the output to the Centres for sale. The centre dispatches the products to the sponsoring state organisation in Patna, i.e. the Bihar State Handloom Powerloom and Handicraft Development Corporation (BSHPHDC) established in 1975. The average monthly earnings of the women are Rs.20-30 and have remained at this level for almost five to seven years. In most cases the income from sikki work is the primary source of income for the women, who are drawn from poor rural households and the lower-order caste groups. Craftswomen do not generally collect grass owing to caste-related status: this activity is carried out by Scheduled Caste Women agricultural labourers, who supplement lean-season earnings by collecting and processing Sikki grass. Their average daily earnings are Rs. 1.50-Rs. 2 for eight to ten hours of labour. This income accrues only during the 'grass season', July-October.

The combined procurement of the three centres is less than Rs. 1 lakh per annum. Each Centre operates on the basis of a small revolving fund of Rs. 2000, which represents the outlay on a small *pucca* structure.

The Sikki project has failed to provide regular employment to the enrolled craftswomen, or to encourage enrolment of other skilled craftswomen over the years. It suffers from severe weaknesses of both production and marketing. The field procurement unit has not emerged as a nucleus production organisation.

With its narrow capital base, the Centre has not stimulated or supported production, which is based on the limited financial capacity and constrained vision of the craftswomen. Moreover, the weak staffing has prevented its being weaned from its sponsors.

I-3 Emerging Patterns and Policy Implications

WOMEN'S NEED FOR EMPLOYMENT

The four projects reviewed reveal, first and more than anything else, the importance to women from the poorest rural households, of the opportunity to earn.

1. The most poignant illustration of this compulsive need for an income is the fact that the Sikki craftswomen work even if the income is Rs. 20 per month. This is a clear indication of the total lack of alternative sources of earning income in the locality, as well as of their acute poverty.

2. Evidence also exists that whatever the dominant occupation of the household, whatever the religion, the castewomen from poorer households seek work, and whenever work is available, are able to pursue it regularly.

3. The earnings of these women, according to the sample interviewed, goes essentially into purchase of daily needs. In other words, their income is vital to maintain their families. While canvassing the questionnaire, it seemed absurd to ask questions, such as whether the work provided them with status and what they did with the wage. Their economic condition and their life-style revealed the inappropriateness of such questions. Most women found the questions strange because the situation was obviously self-explanatory, i.e. they had to spend all they earned on necessities.

When as in Jammu and Kashmir, the women are part of a weaver household and totally integrated into the production process, they are not able to perceive 'independent' economic gains. It is a family effort.

At the same time, the pressure to survive or maintain the survival of their children and family, makes the question "what do you do with your income?" grotesque.

This may raise the question whether an increase in total household income even if it "displaces" or obviates the need for the women to work, would be an improved situation. The deterioration in female status with loss of economic role is too well established a proposition to need elaboration. Technology and training outputs have to be such that contributors to the family

income are not made redundant even if family income rises through a sole earner.

It is not leisure that gets expanded but physical and social intra-household oppression that expands, as is seen in the time disposition¹ charts of rural women, stratified according to income and agricultural seasons. The woman's status is directly related to the quantum of work she does. The labour input of the female into household production and its reward, even if unidentifiable, is a vital ingredient of female status.

The three points described above together consolidate evidence against a notion that is often advocated, namely that women do not need income *as much as* men. In other words, that the primary income of the household is the man's, and the woman's secondary; and, secondly, that in a queue for work, where jobs are scarce, men as the primary breadwinners should have preference over women.

These notions have dominated employment planning in most countries including India. When programmes/schemes of employment are designed and implemented, women are not considered separately as a target group to be specially reached. It is usually argued that it is enough, in the first round, if the men are employed.

The same notion enters debates on unemployment measurement. Even if the number of women-workers is larger than the figures published (owing to faulty information) this is not a matter that need greatly disturb us—so it is argued. After all, if better enumeration reveals a large volume of 'new' unemployed, how does it help? There is already massive open unemployment and this influx will do no more than add to depression. Let remote problems remain obscure and the open problem be handled first, is the advice.

The example of women's work given above, however, clearly expose the injustice of such a view. Owing to this view, the characteristics of female unemployment have not been investigated. As a consequence, they have been overlooked in the targeting of employment planning.

¹Analysis of labour supply behaviour and female work participation in selected rural households conducted by the Institute of Social Studies, 227, Jorbagh, New Delhi-3 (to be completed).

PLACE OF WORK

The *second* important factor that emerges is that women do, in very large numbers, work at cottage-based wage work. It probably stems from this that in rural areas, where agriculture is the dominant activity, cottage-based work provides the most suitable pattern for women. The seasonality of agriculture, the claims on their time of house-keeping, as well as the lack of basic amenities and social welfare services, make it difficult and impossible for them to leave home for continuous, uncontrolled hours.

While in Tamil Nadu we found 60,000 women spinning under just one scheme, millions of women are known in India to earn income (in varying amounts) from yarn spinning. Several lakhs of women earn an income ranging from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 a month (depending on the organisation and laws) from rolling beedies. Similarly pre-weavers must run into millions, as also craftswomen.

These, therefore, are the dominant female work-force groups. Further understanding of their household socio-economy, their wages, problems, needs will provide base information for those who are interested in women and development.

RESERVATION OF MARKET

Another useful inquiry could be into the possibilities of expanding the market for these cottage-based products. Where the demand can be expanded, there would be scope for more employment for women. Frequently the market size would depend on government policy, as with hand spinning and weaving. Machine made textiles tend to drive out hand-made textiles unless some attempt is made to accommodate them.

The survival of the handloom industry in India is attributed to the reservation of certain selected products exclusively for the handloom sector. The Textile Commissioner was made responsible for inspecting the textile mills to ensure that they did not produce items reserved for handlooms. Not only were the large textile mills prohibited from making the products reserved for handlooms but a cess was levied on the textile mills to raise a fund for development of a marketing infrastructure, technology and designs for the handloom sector.

A Handloom Development Board was set up to administer the cess fund and to formulate and implement various measures for the strengthening and development of the handloom industry and the weavers.

It may require equally strong pressure to ensure that more cottage based products have a reserved market. Such a policy would particularly help women, as the majority of them earn their income from such industries. Hence it would be a useful and relevant cause to be taken up by women's lobbies, and it should become a strong platform, if rural women are to be kept alive.

India's Sixth Five Year Plan has in fact advocated a policy of reservations of production and preference for technology which ensures wider employment opportunities for men and women. It has particularly stressed the need to protect women's employment in areas traditionally reserved for women.

RAW MATERIAL AND SKILL BASE

The *fourth* noticeable feature of this review is that all the activities are based on locally available raw materials, as well as simple or inherited skills. This kind of resource base can make a great difference to the "take-off" possibilities of a project. While planning to develop income-generating programmes for women, the programme should survey the area for both these features: raw materials and skills. The Coimbatore District of Tamil Nadu accounts for more than 30 per cent of the total production of cotton in the state. Similarly, Valod taluk accounts for about one fifth of the total output of pulses in Gujarat State. The linkage between Jammu and Kashmir and wool is too obvious to be stated, and Sikki grass grow on the river banks in North Bihar. Hence each of these projects has been intensely linked to a local raw material, saving much finance and organisation for procurement, stocking and transport of basic raw materials from distant places.

Again, the degree of skill required of women-workers in each project studied, is relatively simple.

While spinning on a newly developed Ambar Charkha does require some training, pappad rolling and grass crafts seem to be innate skills. The training required seems to come with "doing", rather than with academic instruction.

ORGANISATION

In terms of organisation, it appears that special thrift schemes have great importance for women. In most parts of India, women do not have control over the family finances, while they are vulnerable in that they can be abandoned, widowed and left with nothing. They always make themselves responsible for the family's food and for other essentials of family life. Hence their savings promote security for themselves, as well as options for their family.

As against this it seems that social security and social services coverage does not extend to women in the "unorganised" sector. They may be as concentrated in an area as factory labour, work as regularly and productively but there is no evidence of insurance against sickness, childbirth, no facilities for child care. Yet they offer a perfect catchment for those wishing to take social inputs to rural women, except for the J&K site which is mountainous and cold. But as wool is distributed throughout in spite of the hardship, so, too nutrition, health, education and other inputs can be distributed, perhaps by the same agents.

The fact that these women are working for an organisation has often led welfare agencies to ignore them. Therein lies the mistake—in this way the possibility of reaching millions of women is lost. Therefore, we see a great untapped opportunity to reach rural women through the very agents that take raw materials to them, strengthening women's position through organising them around their occupation.

LINKAGES

Most of the projects have been linked with the Khadi and Village Industries Commission (KVIC) or the All-India Handicrafts Board (AIHB). They have received financial and technical help from these agencies. But it is the promotional organisations like the TNSS in Tiruppur, the Shri Grih Mahila Udyog Lijjat Pappad in Valod which emerge as the critical factor in mobilising external support (from KVIC, etc) on the one hand, and providing efficient overhead services (marketing, raw material, credit and management) to individual artisans, on the other. The success of the projects seems to be directly related to the effi-

ciency with which the promotional agencies have been able to play this twin role. The projects also indicate that such schemes may also be supported by banks, if organisational efficiency can be assured and if schemes are carefully conceived and implemented.

However, the existence of national boards such as the KVIC and the AIHB provide the most important pillar for the development of projects such as those studied. They have within them the capacity to extend financial as well as technical resources to agencies to develop employment schemes under their umbrella.

The three successful schemes reviewed reveal that it is possible for large scale employment schemes to be set up and implemented by agencies with bank finance. There is a strong feeling amounting to prejudice that generating employment, oriented towards women and or the poor for a full employment policy, is expensive and a drain on the national exchequer. These schemes should help to remove that prejudice.

TRAINING OF WORKERS

Training, as mentioned earlier has not been a significant component of any of the schemes. Yet, there is a certain element of transfer of knowledge in these programmes which cannot be overlooked.

A clearer analytical framework for understanding the role of training could be provided if employment programmes are divided between (1) those that intensify the existing employment opportunities and (2) those that expand employment opportunities.

Under category (1) two further classifications could be made:

(a) attempts to prevent displacement of women from existing occupations due to technological or structural changes

and

(b) attempts to improve earning power in the existing occupation.

In the sub-category (b), frequently it is not so much skills as organisation of infrastructure that can increase earning power.

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For example the availability of raw materials of credit at cheaper rates or simpler methods, direct access to a market can make a significant difference, as is demonstrated by the SEWA experiment,² where the vegetable vendors' income has increased from x per day to y per day owing to access to cheap credit. The availability of child-care facilities, access to water and fuel at easier distances can often do more for women's earning capacity than a new income-generating project because whatever the project, these constraints may prevent women from taking up work on it.

On the other hand for sub-category (a) there may be an urgent need to provide to women training required for the new technology or structure which is threatening to displace them.

Similarly under category (2) there can be two sub-categories.

(a) New employment which is meant to rehabilitate those who are already displaced and who have no scope in their old occupations. This would be somewhat similar to the sub-category (b) under category (1) but the occupational change may be more dramatic than any displacement prevention practices. For example, if spinning were mechanised, the women spinners of the J&K valley would have to be rehabilitated through training for occupations *outside weaving*.

(b) Pure expansion of employment: here there may be no training component at all. This will in fact be the dominant type of employment programme in India for the next decade.

According to the Sixth Plan, the sector which is still designed to absorb the largest amount of the unemployed labour force is agriculture. It is planned that this employment will be generated through massive investment in irrigation. It is also possible that employment guaranteed schemes will be extended. Here men and women workers continue to work with the same skills that they have had at simple manual tasks. Here, a more humane approach to women-workers may be to provide child care facilities, access to water, fuel and food rather than productivity training.

The three projects described above have tended to develop out of existing skills and this is an important aspect of their

²Jain, Devaki "From Dissociation to Rehabilitation—Report on an Experiment to Promote Self-Employment in an Urban Area." Indian Council of Social Science Research. IIPA Hostel, Indraprastha Estate, New Delhi.

success. Projects which attempt to impart skills as a pre-condition to earning tend to be small. This is particularly because training is difficult to impart in large numbers in rural areas. It is also difficult because the urgency for the income is so great that it is difficult to wait for the training to be complete; and finally, as stated earlier, the largest potential for employment may be in activities not requiring new skills.

A case is reported from Maharashtra where it is observed that women construction-workers do not want the Equal Remuneration Act to be implemented. The women-workers report that the contractors allowed them to take time off to feed and tend the children, to work intermittently, carry smaller loads as long as they suffered the wage differential. Now, because of the equal wage, the contractor demands continuous work, gives no time off for a child and demands that the women carry heavier loads. In the existing circumstances, since the women were not able to provide these conditions, they were replaced by men.

This experience seems to illustrate that the conditions under which women get released for earning vary from occupation to occupation and locality to locality. In some cases, training may be the key requirement for income enhancement; in another case, social services; in a third, organisation; in a fourth, inputs and markets.

TRAINING OF MANAGERS

However, the review of these schemes suggests that where training may be needed most is at the level of project organisers. Much depends on the dedication and efficiency with which they organise the workers and operate the activity.

In Gujarat and Tamil Nadu, there has been a tradition of social service and several persons may be found almost with natural skills for social service and social management, but this may not be so everywhere.

Hence an examination of the processes through which these types of social service and management skills get widespread enough to be cheaply available in the environment as in Gujarat and Tamil Nadu, provide clues as to what kind of educational infrastructure should be developed to increase the availability of highly motivated and skilled social organisers.

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Development of "lead" projects to provide job apprenticeship for staff of other projects could be another possibility for training. The three "positive" projects can all provide a base for the kind of training for others if staff and space support is provided by agencies interested in implementing effective employment schemes in rural areas.

Training in building and managing organisation of rural women may be included as a course in both Management Institutes as well as Polytechnics, Home Science Colleges. and other institutions.

NEED FOR MOTIVATIONAL IDEOLOGY

The same review of projects raises the question whether management training by itself provides the leadership that has been exhibited in the successful endeavours and is missing in the "failure". All of them are stereotyped schemes of agencies set up by the government. Yet they have done exceptionally well while others, like themselves, sponsored by the same agencies have failed. What are the unique organisational inputs?

While organisational efficiency seems obvious, it appears that the really crucial input is the motivation and commitment underlying this efficiency. In each project the organisers are deeply involved in ideology. The Lijjat group have strict ethical codes, and meticulous observance of these codes seem to be central to the organisation. Prayers, pledges, solidartiy, service envelop the organisation.

At Tiruppur, the understanding of Gandhian ideology with a critical mind is imparted to workers through literature, a weekly magazine, exposure to debate. Much of this maintenance of an ideological commitment is done by its Chief Organiser, Shri Ramachandran, an idealist.

All three "successful" projects have sprung from the Gandhian fountainhead of ideas. While there are hundreds of such attempts, the good preformance of the selected projects may be attributed to the ideological base emphasized in these three projects which have motivated the staff and ensured meticulous honesty. The efficiency of supervisory roles is a function of honesty which, in turn, is a function of the dedication, the commitment of the supervisor to the goals of the project. The

poor cannot be reached unless there is a strong compulsion to reach them. This compulsion can be provided only by ideology.

Training in management, whatever the style, is usually devoid of ideology. Efficiency is postulated as an ideology. Yet it is commitment to social goals that generates the dedicated service that explains an operation's success, particularly when its relates to the poor and the deprived.

It is here that project organisers must ensure that some involvement of the staff appointed is ensured through exposures to ideology. For women's programmes, this is not difficult. Women have a natural affinity to "sisterhood" feelings—this solidarity can be captured and through this strength the staff can be motivated.

CONCLUSION

In Indian development strategy, there has been a tendency to blueprint schemes and projects. This has often led the implementing instruments, especially official instruments, not only to discourage but to ignore or bypass local issues and initiatives. If the government could take the view that their role is to respond to and facilitate initiatives and programmes that emerge from micro-level dynamics, it would lead to a more efficient use of resources, than when they impose rigid blueprints of programmes which have worked successfully in other areas situations.

The description of projects, such as those in this book, the attempt to break down their organisations into "steps", can at best be used to inspire confidence in development administrators; to make them feel optimistic that changes can be made and that people's lives can be improved within the existing structures.

This review of schemes also clearly illustrates that women's special roles which determined their condition, require specially designed schemes, conceived to suit these roles. Otherwise women will be bypassed by employment planning in spite of the Constitution.

Lack of information, not to mention misconception and prejudice, prevents policy-makers from evolving special schemes or special support in 'mixed' schemes, hence frustrating the

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rural women's compelling need for income. We hope this little manual will go a little way towards encouraging agencies, governmental and non-governmental, to design and sponsor employment schemes specifically for rural women.

Part II: PROJECT DESCRIPTION

II-1 INTRODUCTION

**II-2 PAPPAD-MAKING AT LIJJAT
PAPPAD CENTRE, VALOD, GUJARAT**

**II-3 HANDLOOM KHADI SPINNING AND
WEAVING AT TIRUPPUR,
COIMBATORE, TAMIL NADU**

**II-4 HANDLOOM Weaving OF WOOLLEN
KHADI AT KASHMIR DASTKAR
ANJUMAN, PAMPORE & DHADURA,
JAMMU AND KASHMIR**

**II-5 SIKKI GRASS HANDICRAFTS
IN NORTH BIHAR**

II-1 Introduction

The four following projects are described in this section:

- 1: Pappad-making at the Lijjat Pappad Centre, Vaiod, Gujarat
- 2: Handloom khadi spinning and weaving at Tiruppur, Coimbatore, Tamil Nadu.
- 3: Handloom weaving of woollen khadi at Pampore and Chadura, Jammu and Kashmir.
- 4: Sikki grass handicrafts in North Bihar.

In describing each project, we have stressed its employment generation performance. Has it provided steady employment at reasonably high wages to rural women and, at the same time maintained commercial viability? All aspects of the unit are examined with the purpose of identifying the ingredients of success or failure of such ventures. The project descriptions have been written specifically for potential replicators at the state level.

The physical and financial base of each project is discussed and references are made to institutional support involved. Common problems in day to day functioning are presented with the problem resolution strategies adopted by the projects.

Each project exists in its own environment of official linkages and support from voluntary institutions. These linkages are often crucial, and help a new project to find its feet. Wherever applicable, the associations and links have been identified.

In the course of the survey the field teams met and interviewed several rural women who were participating in the projects as wage-earners. These interviews gave us an opportunity to assess the overall impact of the project on the women's lives on nutrition, health, clothing, education, etc., as well as on areas which are not amenable to precise measurement, and are likely to be overlooked in formal impact surveys. For instance, some women shared with us their views on status in the household, their access to money, their participation in decision-making in the family and opportunities for self-improvement.

Stringing together these perceptions we realised that an

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important variable needed to be included in the measurement criteria for a project's success as, for instance, whether the project had strengthened the women in their role as housewives and members of the community, and imbued them with self-confidence and enterprise. The central concern of each project was the provision of a 'job' and an opportunity for earning an income. Yet, whereas the Lijjat endeavour emphasised the all-round development of the women-workers, in the Bihar-based Sikki project such a commitment was found lacking. The difference in the orientation of the two projects is manifested in their relative impact on rural women, and even on their own functioning and performance.

II-2 Pappad-Making at the Lijjat Pappad Centre, Valod, Gujarat

LIJJAT: WHAT IT DOES

Valod (pop. 51,999¹), where the Lijjat Pappad Centre is located, is a small mofussil town of Surat district in Gujarat. Four hundred women from surrounding villages assemble at the Valod Pappad Centre twice daily, 25 days a month all the year round. They collect prepared pulse-based dough in the morning, roll it at home and later receive pappad rolling charges, Rs. 1.50 per kilogram of dough rolled. On an average 1 kg of dough is rolled in about two hours. The pappad rollers who roll for a total of five to seven hours, earn Rs. 3–5 daily. At the centre, a cadre of professional staff manages the distribution of dough, the collection, scrutiny and packaging of pappads, and payments to pappad-rollers. They market their product under the brand name, 'Lijjat', which has come to be associated in the public mind with excellent quality.

In essence, the Lijjat system is a model of the 'putting out' or 'dispersed factory system'. It has integrated business acumen and the highest standards of quality control with a common household skill—the ability to roll "chappatis". By centralising operations such as the preparation of dough and packaging of pappads, and farming out the rolling operation among housewives who need a home-based avenue of employment, the Lijjat Pappad organisation has adopted a labour-intensive technique which keeps production costs low while ensuring a high standard of quality.

The Centre at Valod is one of the 17 branches of the Lijjat family, known formally as the Shri Grih Mahilla Udyog Lijjat Pappad, with headquarters in Bombay. More than 4000 women are affiliated to these branches. Several of these are located in cities and large towns and two centres, of which the Valod Centre is one, are rural-based. Many of these women have been earning a steady income of Rs. 100–150 per month for five to ten years.

The Lijjat enterprise was founded by seven Bombay housewives of Girgaum, a lower middle class suburb. Unskilled,

¹1971 Census.

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resourceless and home-bound, the women raised Rs. 80 and rolled their first lot of Lijjat pappads in March 1950. They were assisted by social workers, prominently Shri Chagganbapa who introduced Lijjat Pappads to big wholesale and retail agents. The high quality of the pappads secured the new markets firmly for the housewives' product. From a production of Rs. 6,000 in 1959-60 engaging 100 women, the Lijjat organisation now has a consolidated annual turnover of Rs. 2 crores, of which Rs. 50 lakhs is accounted for by exports to Europe, USA and Africa. The organisation has netted profits each year since its inception, ranging between 3 per cent and 6 per cent of the annual turnover.

The organisation has grown as a shared endeavour of the members and has consciously rejected formal hierarchies of management and control. "There are no workers and employers. All of us are members, and the organisation belongs to all of us". This commitment to co-ownership and equality has been preserved in all the Lijjat branches.

VALOD CENTRE: HOW IT STARTED

The Valod Centre was launched under the aegis of two strong organisations. Vedchi Intensive Area Scheme (VIAS) and the Shri Mahila Grih Udyog Lijjat Pappad, Bombay, both of which extended not physical and financial assistance only, but also goodwill.

In 1968, the Lijjat organisation (Bombay) was investigating new sources of supply of urad dal to meet the growing needs of its constituent branches. The organisers approached VIAS, a voluntary institution engaged for many years in social reform and developmental activities in the Valod area to help them with supplies from urad-growing areas of Surat district, VIAS arranged for urad supplies. VIAS also helped to obtain the Khadi and Village Industries Commission's recognition for the Lijjat enterprise which brought advantages of credit, sales tax exemption, etc. to Lijjat.

The urad procured by VIAS was found to be darker in colour than pulses used in Bombay, and therefore unsuitable for use in the existing branches. But it was considered satisfactory for a

new production centre, especially since pappad rolling was a familiar skill in the Valod area.

VIAS also advanced a loan of Rs. 3,000 and deputed three experienced social workers (all men) to the new unit and the Lijjat Head Office sent two women with experience in pappad-rolling and management. This team worked together for two/three months to train local staff in all aspects of the Lijjat pattern, i.e. processing raw materials, day to day operations accounting, etc.

The Centre was started in rented premises. Initially 25 women from the neighbourhood joined the Valod Centre. From the earliest, pappads were made according to the standards prescribed by the Lijjat organisation. In the early stages the Valod Centre marketed its pappads through the Lijjat channels in Bombay. Soon the quality of the Valod pappads attracted a local clientele and since 1970 the unit has marketed its entire production on its own.

The Pappad Centre at Valod was registered by the District Registrar as a Public Trust with the objectives of providing substantial income to rural women. The Centre was also registered with the Khadi Gram Udyog Board and the Sales Tax office. Exemption from octroi levies was obtained from Octroi Superintendents of the area. These formalities were completed in about six months, and were undertaken by the experienced joint team of VIAS and Lijjat (Bombay).

Today the unit has an annual production of about Rs. 25 lakhs and a membership of 480 pappad-rollers drawn from Valod and villages in the neighbourhood. There is a salaried staff of 18–20 workers at the Centre.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

Membership of the Valod Centres is open to any woman who is willing to roll pappads for the Centre. Enrolment does not carry a fee, but pledges each member to mutual cooperation and respect for the Sarvodaya principles of mutual cooperation, dedication to work and honesty.

A member also has to sign a pledge which binds her to the centre exclusively for commercial pappad-rolling. She also commits herself to accepting the rolling charges offered by the centre,

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and to accommodating the needs of other members in all spheres of her working relationship. Each member has full voting rights, and also the power of veto. Members take all important decisions relating to the centre, as, for instance, the manner in which bonus is to be distributed, introduction of facilities for members. Such decisions are taken at general body meetings held at the centre premises.

The members elect a President, and members of the Executive Committee. A few social workers of VIAS are also appointed to the Executive Committee. The 19-member Executive Committee meets once in three months and takes policy decisions.

The Valod Centre is an autonomous production-cum-market-ing unit which maintains independent accounts. However, it has the same auditors as the parent Lijjat organisation in Bombay. Profit-and-loss statements and balance sheets are regularly submitted to the Head Office of the organisation.

THE MEMBERS: WHO ARE THEY?

The Lijjat Centre members at Valod do not belong to the poorest rural households. They are largely drawn from the lower middleclass. Some are poor peasantry from the surrounding villages, representing three major caste communal groups, i.e. the tribal Halpaties, Muslims and Banias. Agriculture is the primary occupation of most households, though some also have members who hold a salaried job as a village or state employee (police, state transport service, etc.). The women of some of the Muslim and Bania households may help on the family farm, but do not generally engage in a wage-earning occupation outside the house for reasons of status. Halpati women work as agricultural labour, and roll pappads to augment their income.

The random sample survey conducted in Valod in June 1977 revealed that the average pappad-roller at the Valod Centre is young, 15-35 years, although several older women also enrol as members. About two-thirds of the members are married and live in their marital homes, while 10% are widows or abandoned wives. The others are young girls who attend school and earn a small income by rolling pappads for a few hours each day.

The Bania and Mulsim households generally own some land, one to five bighas, while the Scheduled Caste Halpati households

are landless. The average monthly income of the 'pappad households' is about Rs. 250 (excluding earnings from pappad-rolling) although it varies in a wide range of Rs. 100-700. Earnings of agricultural labour Halpati households are the lowest at Rs. 150 a month, and are also subject to seasonal fluctuations.² Other households groups with land and other supplementary non-agricultural occupations (trading, tailoring, watch-repairing and salaried service) average a higher monthly income, about Rs 350, which is less liable to fluctuation. About half the households have only one regular earner, while among widows and destitute women, there is no regular source of income other than pappad-rolling. Extended families are common and there is an average of six members per household.

The level of education in the 'pappad households' is relatively high. A quarter of the households have at least one graduate in the family, and all households have at least one member with middle school education. Many of the pappad-rollers themselves can read and write, although about a third are illiterate.

On all days of the month except Sundays they collect 3-4 kg of dough from the centre between 7 am and 9 am; in the festive season 8-10 kg of dough may be distributed daily to all members who can find the time to roll this quantity. Generally members roll in two 'shifts' at home, for a couple of hours in the morning after domestic chores have been attended to, and then again for a long spell in the afternoon. Women with large families prefer to roll for a four hour stretch early in the morning, from 4 am-8 am, and then again at night after the family has been fed. They return the pappads to the Centre in the evening between 4 pm and 6 pm.

Each pappad-roller is given rolling board and metal rolling pin by the Centre. The dough is softened by rubbing edible oil before rolling, about 25 paise worth of oil to each kg of dough. The member buys the oil herself. She does not incur any other cost in pappad rolling except during the monsoon months, May-August. During these months the pappads, which are usually sun-dried on over-turned twig baskets, have to be dried over a coal fire or kerosene stove. Fuel costs are

²The average daily wage in agriculture in the Valod area is Rs 3, although the statutory minimum wage in Gujarat is Rs 5.50.

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Re. 1 per day in this season, and spoilage due to non-drying is higher.

THE MEMBERS: IMPACT OF THE SCHEME

For a large majority of the members of the Valod Centre, pappad-rolling is the only income-earning occupation. Earnings from pappad-rolling range from Rs 70 to Rs 200 each month, depending on the individual's capacity to roll pappads. Members receive cash payment on alternate days at the Centre. Our survey showed that all the adult members had full control over their income and spent it as they wished. Their families also regarded 'pappad earnings' as the women's personal income.

The survey revealed that women spent their income largely on food essentials such as edible oil, vegetables, spices and fuel and the standard of food consumption in the households had improved. Occasionally they bought clothes.

The ability to earn an income is the single most attractive feature of the Valod Centre for the women members. But there are several other characteristics of their participation in the centre which strengthen their association with the institution. Each member is aware of the concept of co-ownership, and of her rights as a member of the Centre. The Lijjat-VIAS led team of consultants and managerial personnel has consciously promoted a sense of equality among members, who are discouraged from talking about their individual socio-economic background so that differences of caste, etc. do not create invidious distinctions. The members' common interest in earning and income is used as a unifying force to weld together disparate individuals in a pleasant working relationship.

The Valod Centre, like the other Lijjat Centres elsewhere in the country, has introduced a successful thrift scheme which enables each member to accumulate savings. At the time of the payment of rolling charges a voluntary deduction of 10 paise per kg is made and recorded in favour of each member respectively—in this manner an 'average' pappad-roller saved Rs. 10 per month. Some women have accumulated Rs. 400–500 in savings. A member may withdraw her savings whenever she wants, or may draw a loan against the savings. Over 60 per cent of the

members interviewed during the survey had taken loans from the centre. The loans were taken to meet social obligations (such as marriages, and religious celebrations), to buy clothes for the family, or to undertake repairs to houses, etc. Loans from the centre are extended without any element of obligation since every member is a co-owner of the organisation.

The Valod Centre also organises regular community evenings and excursion trips to places of pilgrimage. These occasions have an educational value and also generate a sense of fellow-feeling. At Valod, a sisterhood of fraternity seems to have developed among the members who have come to regard the Centre as a source of income as well as a powerful prop to their status within their homes and in society. For a majority of the members, the pappad Centre is the first and only non-family institution to which they have belonged; their involvement has grown in proportion to the economic and status-related benefits they have gained. On the one hand, the Centre has assured them of a steady income, bonus, loans facilities, etc. and, on the other hand, it has initiated scholarship schemes for their children, built a library for their use, introduced regular medical and health check-ups, and started functional literacy classes. These facilities have been provided without a sense of patronage. The members avail themselves of the facilities as a natural right. This has contributed substantially to the member's loyalty and devotion to the Centre.

The foregoing description of member's participation in Valod has focussed on its positive, beneficial aspects. Yet there are some areas of this participation which show weaknesses in the system, two of which are now mentioned.

First, despite the fact that women of all strata of rural society hear of the Pappad Centre through the oral communication network, yet the poorest women from the agricultural labour households do not respond to this offer. Why is this so? Our survey showed that this could largely be due to the inability of these women to maintain the standards of hygiene and cleanliness stipulated by the Valod Centre. The provision of rolling facilities on the Centre premises, as in the nearby centre at village Golan, robs the enterprise of the critical component of home-based production. At Valod this problem is not given pri-

ority and there is inadvertent exclusion of the most vulnerable groups of women.

Second, even though Lijjat Pappad Centres emphasise equal participation and rights of members in practice, not all members participate actively in the functioning of the Centre. Differences of personality and education apart, the Centre deliberately adheres to its policy on non-discrimination, even when it comes to treating the shy and the timid at par with the pushing. As a result, the membership gets stratified, with a small band of assertive, vociferous members at the top, and the other quieter members below. In the long run this may result in the formalisation of an elite among members, creating precisely the distinctions that the Lijjat Centre wishes to avoid.

DAY-TO-DAY FUNCTIONING

In all matters relating to the daily functions of the Valod Centre—production scheduling, marketing, deployment of personnel—the decisions are taken and implemented by the professional team of managers and supervisors at the Centre. Long-term policy decisions are taken by the Managing Committee at its quarterly meetings. Members, who are authorised to participate in all decisions, do not generally interfere in the day-to-day operations of the Centre.

The *production* of pappad is carried out in four phases, i.e. the purchase of raw materials, the processing of raw materials into dough, the rolling of the dough into pappads, and finally the packaging of rolled pappads. Three of these phases are conducted on the premises of the Valod Centre, while one operation, namely the rolling of pappads, is carried out by the members in their homes. Each of these production operations is closely monitored and supervised by the salaried staff of the Centre.

Raw materials such as pulses (urad and moong) are bought on a monthly basis from dal mills in neighbouring towns² by the Manager of the Centre. Other raw materials such as spices and polythene bags are supplied by the Bombay office of the Shri Mahila Grah Udyog Lijjat Pappad.

The processing of the raw materials into dough is carried out

²Bardoli, Mandvi, Madhi

daily at the Centre in three stages. The pulses are ground at the Centre in handmills by ten Male employees. Spices are added to the ground pulses under the supervision of a senior woman supervisor according to a strict formula. At the next stage, 10–12 women pappad-rollers knead the powdered pulses into dough with salt, soda bicarbonate and water in rectangular aluminium containers, again under the supervision of the production supervisor. The kneaders are paid at piece rate; since this activity is conducted early in the morning, between 6 and 8 am it does not interfere with their pappad-rolling later in the day. Finally, the kneaded dough is pounded by the men workers on a flat surface with iron bars. These operations are conducted in two adjacent rooms at the Centre.

The procedure for distribution of dough to members and collection of pappads has been formalised by allotting serial numbers and specified windows to the pappad-rollers in a large delivery room. There are six windows and each has a woman distributor-collector.

A supervisor of the Centre makes a door-to-door inspection of the premises of the pappad-rollers regularly to ensure that members conform to a minimum standard of hygiene and cleanliness. Rolled pappads returned to the Centre are weighed and checked by the distribution-collection staff. Inprocess waste of 200 gm per kg of dough is permitted by the Centre; any short weight beyond this is deducted from payment to the individual. Payment to pappad-rollers is made in cash every third day.

Packaging in polythene bags is done simultaneously with the receipt and weighing of rolled pappads in the evening. The male paid workers prepare packages of two standard sizes, i.e. 240 grams and 390 grams, which are stored in the store room. On an average, the packets are dispatched for sale within a week of their manufacture.

The close supervisions of the manufacturing process has ensured uniform excellence of quality, which is unusual in a hand-processed edible item. This high quality has been the chief promotor of the product, which has dominated the commercial pappad market, at least in West India.

STAFF: ITS SPECIAL ROLE

The salaried staff of the Valod Centre is headed by a Manager, a young man who was previously a grinder-packer at the Centre, and is now in overall charge of the unit. Two women supervisors have been employed to check each stage of the production process. They are both middle aged, and joined the Centre initially as pappad-rollers. Their leadership qualities were recognised by the Manager and some members of the Managing Committee, and they were appointed to positions of responsibility. There are six women distributors-collectors who record dough collection and pappad-delivery by each member daily. They have a High School education and also joined the Centre as pappad-rollers. Ten men grinders-packers conduct the task of pounding and flattening of dough. The permanent staff of the Centre is in a ratio of 1:25 to the pappad-rollers. In addition to these staff members, 10-12 pappad-rollers are engaged on a casual basis to knead dough every morning.

In a cooperative organisation, more so one in which there is a deliberate reiteration of the concept of co-ownership and equality, the salaried staff operates under a special set of conditions. At the Valod Centre, any member of the staff may be dismissed by a pappad-roller member without assigning a reason and is expected to follow the instructions of each member. Ordinarily, these circumstances could prove counter-productive and could interfere with the discharge of an employee's duties. However, at Valod there has been no experience so far of a display of pique or intolerance by any pappad-roller member towards a staff member. The competent handling of the unit by the Manager, and members' loyalty to the Centre have helped to diffuse any potential crises. The Gandhian orientation of the VIAS consultants appears to have permeated the lives of staff and members alike.

PRODUCTION: SCALE OF OPERATIONS

In the second year of its establishment, 1969, the annual production of the Valod Centre was Rs 2 lakhs and was approximately Rs. 25 lakhs in 1977-78. Monthly production averages Rs. 1.8-2.0 lakhs. Roughly, each pappad-roller produces pappads worth Rs 400 a month.

In quantitative terms, the Valod Centre produces each month 50–60,000 large sized packets (390 grams) and 20,000 small sized packets (240 grams).

Quantitative production of pappad packets

	1977	
	390 gm	240 gm
March	48,033	19,721
April	40,215	14,883
May	55,085	20,090
June	42,556	16,360

COMMERCIAL VIABILITY: HOW IT IS MAINTAINED

The Valod Centre has adopted a labour-intensive low capital production process for pappad-making. It is a commercially viable unit that has shown profits consistently since its establishment. Gross profits average 20–22 per cent of sales revenue and net profits are 5–6 per cent of sales revenue which are regularly distributed as bonus to members. For instance, in April, 1977 sales revenue was Rs. 1.88 lakhs, gross profit Rs. 39,000 and net profit Rs. 10,000. Such a record of commercial success is exceptional in non-essential edibles, more so in cottage-based endeavours. Three factors appear to have contributed substantially to the unit's financial viability—first, the maintenance of a realistic margin of 20 per cent between production costs and marketed value (fob value); second, a quick turnaround which has kept working capital requirements low; and third, efficient management with scrupulous daily accounting.

On each large packet of pappads (390 gm) there is a gross profit of 65–75 paise. The process costs of a large packet are Rs. 2.65–2.75 while it is offered to the dealer at Rs. 3.50, representing a mark-up of 20 to 25 per cent. Through a network of commission agents and retailers, the pappad packets are retailed at a uniform consumers' price of Rs 3.80 per packet wherever Lijjat pappads are sold in the country (see 'Marketing' below). The operating margin of 20–25 per cent enables the unit to meet non-process costs (such as salaries, rent, stationery, etc.) and to net a profit.

The unit has established a marketing system based on a production turnaround of one week. At any time in the month the unit carries a finished stock of seven days production. With a total monthly production of about Rs 1.8 lakhs and a weekly turnaround, the finished stock at the Centre is of the order of Rs 30–40,000. This quick turnaround enables the unit to function on a narrow capital base, keeping interest charges low.

Process costs include raw materials costs, wages to pappa-d-rollers, transport-haulage, and interest on finished stocks.

Operating costs are kept at a minimum by dispensing with expensive mechanisation where hand processing is adequate, by abstaining from 'luxuries' such as vehicles for travel by staff and members, and by keeping rejects low through careful supervision. Despite the practice of minimising overheads and operating expenses, the management has ensured that resources are made available for necessary expenses such as supervisory staff, high quality raw materials, publicity campaigns, etc. A judicious policy of *thrift, simplicity and efficient management* seems to be at the core of the unit's commercial success.

FINANCE: EMPHASIS ON SELF-RELIANCE

From the earliest days the Valod Centre has relied largely on its own resources for financing its operations. Consistent with the policy of the Shri Mahila Grih Udyog Lijjat Pappad organisation, the Centre does not accept donations and grants.

The two major internal sources of finance at the Valod Centre are sales revenue and the Sisters' Savings Fund. The Fund is used for granting loans to members, and the balance is available to the Centre as working capital. The cumulative savings of the members in the Fund were over Rs 85,000 (net of loans granted to members) in June, 1977. The Centre does not depend on institutional credit for its working capital requirements, though it is eligible for commercial bank credit to the extent of 70 per cent of the outlay on raw materials and value of finished stock.

Rough computations show that the working capital requirement of the Valod Centre is Rs. 1.30–1.50 lakhs per month. There are expenses which are incurred on a monthly basis, such as staff salaries, purchase of raw materials, rent, telephone and stationery charges, etc., and other expenses which are incurred on

a weekly basis, such as wages to pappad rollers, transport/haulage charges, finance for finished stock, etc., as summarised in the following chart.

*Estimated monthly/weekly working capital requirements of
Lijjt Pappad, Valod Centre*

		(Rs.)
1	Raw materials	(1 month) 75,000
2	Salaries to Centre staff	(1 month) 5,000
3	Rent	(1 month) 500
4	Stationery, postage, telephone, etc.	(1 month) 2,000
5	Wages to papad-rollers	(7 days) 12,500
6	Finished stock	(7 days) 30,000
7	Transport haulage handling	(7 days) 900
8	Others	(1 month) 4,000
		1,29,900

The share of pappad-rollers' wages in the total ex-factory value of production (Rs. 1.8–2 lakhs) per month is approximately 20–25 per cent. Staff salaries and other overheads together account for approximately 5–7 per cent of the value of production of the unit. Interest on outlay on finished stock transport, package charges, etc. accounts for another 5–7 per cent of the value of production.

Extending the rough calculation of working capital requirements to per capita investment, our survey shows that on the average the monthly working capital requirement per worker is Rs. 260 which largely represents the outlay on raw materials, and the fixed capital investment per roller is Rs. 20. These averages indicate the low capital base of the Valod Centre. On the other hand, the capital output ratio (i.e. working capital to gross sales) is 1:1:4. The returns to working capital are a reflection of the financial viability of the Centre.

Daily accounts are maintained and a monthly statement is circulated to all members. The Valod Centre, like other branches of the Lijjt organization, does not open for business on a day when the previous days' or previous months' accounts have not been finalised.

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MARKETING: HOW MARKETS ARE SECURED AND MAINTAINED

Pappads from the Valod Centre entered the market under the mantle of the well-known 'Lijjat' brand-name. A readymade market existed for the Lijjat product in Gujarat and Rajasthan where demand outstripped supply. The goodwill established by the Lijjat brand-name in every part of the country in which it had been sold was a valuable legacy for the Valod Centre. Without identifying itself with Lijjat, the Centre might have had to struggle to establish itself in the market. As things were, the market was on tap and the Valod Centre was virtually filling in a supply gap. To that extent, the Valod Centre does not offer a new model to the potential replicator; instead, it confirms the efficacy of the general marketing methodology of the Lijjat organization, which was duplicated at Valod.

The 'Lijjat way' of marketing is based on excellence in quality and the establishment of a motivated cadre of agents/dealers/wholesalers. The bulk of the marketing of Lijjat pappads throughout the country is entrusted to appointed commission agents. The agents collect consignments of pappads and supply them to wholesalers or retailers at the standard price of Rs. 3.40 and Rs. 3.50 respectively. The agent's commission is ten paise on each large, and seven paise on each small, packet. The commission is paid from the sales receipts, i.e. of each receipt of Rs. 3.40/3.50 per large packet of pappads, the Centre pays the agent 10 paise as commission. This commission is inclusive of transport charges which the agent bears himself. The retailer is obliged to sell the pappad packet to the consumer at a standard price of Rs. 3.80 anywhere in India. The retailer's margin is 30 paise per packet.

The basic marketing structure revolves around the commission agent, the dealer and the retailer. On an average Lijjat pappads are priced 10 per cent higher than other common brands, but dominate the market because of their superior quality.

At Valod there are two commission agents who service North and South Gujarat respectively. In addition, the Centre makes direct supplies to wholesalers in Ahmedabad, Baroda, Jaipur and Udaipur. There is a retail depot in Valod in the market area.

The Lijjat organisation has used modern methods of sales

promotion including the media. It has launched publicity regularly in all cities where its centres are located. A professional team of advertising specialists at the headquarters in Bombay advise the constituent centres on marketing techniques. The Valod Centre spends 2-3 per cent of sales revenue on advertising and sales promotion, an average of Rs. 5-6,000 per month. It advertises in regional newspapers and magazines and regularly brings out pamphlets. Cinema slides and bus hoardings are also used.

SUMMARY: CRITICAL DETERMINANTS OF SUCCESS

The steady commercial success of the Valod Centre in the last ten years is outstanding not only in the handprocessed edible food industry, but also when compared to other branches of the success-oriented Lijjat-family. The Valod Centre presents a model for harnessing common food-processing skills to generate regular income for home-bound women in a financially viable enterprise. The factors which have enabled the Centre to achieve and maintain its record of growth and profits are summarised here:

1. The Valod Centre was established with the full support of two strong institutions, VIAS and Shri Mahila Grah Udyog Lijjat Pappad (Bombay), which were experienced in community service and the setting up of commercial ventures. The institutions worked in co-ordination with each other and extended physical, financial and technical assistance as well as moral backing to the Centre;
2. The location of the Centre at Valod was appropriate because of the local availability of both raw materials (urad dal) and a skilled labour force of pappad-rollers;
3. The quality of the pappads was maintained at a high level by close supervision at each stage of production. The supervisors were technically competent to detect flaws and possessed leadership qualities that made their advice acceptable;
4. Operating costs were kept low by minimising overheads, i.e. capital assets, staff, etc. but this thrift was not extended either to the outlay on raw materials or supervision of production or publicity, etc.;
5. A margin of 20-25 per cent was maintained between ex-factory cost and sales price, and this margin has served as the basis of the unit's profitability. Though the margin raised Lijjat

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prices to a higher level than the retail prices of other competitive brands of pappad, sales were not adversely affected because the Valod Centre adhered to the high quality standards of the “Lijjat” brand-name;

6. The Valod Centre adopted the scrupulous accounting practices of the parent Lijjat organisation, Shri Mahila Grih Udyog Lijjat Pappad. The unit’s financial performance is monitored through daily accounts and monthly account statements which are circulated among the members;

7. Members of the Valod acquired a sense of loyalty to the unit through the promotion of concepts of equality and co-ownership by the organisers in the management of the enterprise. By initiating extra economic programmes for members and their families, the Valod Centre united women of different social backgrounds in a common sisterhood, and involved them deeply in the success of the venture.

II-3 Handloom Spinners of Tamil Nadu Sarvodaya Sangh, Tiruppur, Tamil Nadu

TNSS: WHAT IS DOES

Artisans from one lakh rural households in the southern state of Tamil Nadu spin, weave or work in village industries for the Tamil Nadu Sarvodaya Sangh (TNSS) for an average of seven hours per day, 25 days a month, the year round. Sixty thousand of the artisans are women-spinners who earn Rs. 2.50 to Rs. 6 daily and 7-10,000 artisans are men-weavers with average earnings of Rs. 8-12 per day. Other members are workers in various village industries. In addition, the TNSS employs 3,000 paid workers who manage the production and marketing units of the organisation.

The TNSS is a 20-year old voluntary organisation which has mobilised a rural work force in Tamil Nadu to produce Khadi and village industry products both for their own consumption and for sale in urban and semi-urban markets. Its present annual turnover exceeds Rs. 7 crore (1976-77), of which Rs. 3 crores is paid out in wages. The Khadi and Village Industries Commission (K&VIC) has supported TNSS by extending financial and physical assistance to it.

The activities of the TNSS are concentrated in the district of Coimbatore, and its registered headquarters are located in Tiruppur, a small town near Coimbatore. The district falls in the rain-shadow belt of Tamil Nadu, and has an arid climate. Dry farming provides a meagre income to small peasants and landless labourers for about four months a year. However, the black soil and dry climate provide ideal geophysical conditions for cotton cultivation, and Coimbatore district is part of an intensive cotton-growing zone. Spinning and weaving are common skills in the area and a large textile industry is located in Coimbatore city.

The TNSS has reached out to dispersed rural khadi workers in the State and linked them together to form a vast workers' conglomerate. It has integrated the local skills of spinning and weaving, with a locally available raw material, cotton, within the

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framework of an organisational structure which provides an opportunity for the smallest spinning/weaving unit to earn an income from khadi production. Each worker joins the organisation as a trustee or co-owner with the right to participate in decision-making at all strata of the multi-tier organisation. The primary objective of the TNSS is to form producers' cooperatives of rural weavers, spinners and other artisans to help them to become self-reliant, economically viable units.

The TNSS assures the village workers of a year-long market, and also provides them with raw material through cooperatives at the village level. Protected from the traditional bottlenecks of raw material shortages and demand constraints, workers are able to function as privileged self-employed artisans. A majority of them work at home in their own time on a piece rate basis.

Ideologically, the TNSS shares a commitment to workers' control and management with its predecessors, the All-India Spinners Association and the Akhil Bharatiya Sarva Seva Sangh (Wardha). Decentralisation and autonomy were the fundamental ideals of these organisations in relation to their constituent units. The TNSS has tried to create conditions in which operating authority passes to the field-level producers' association, and higher-order hierarchies become redundant and 'wither away'. In this case, as in the experience of the earlier organisations, the attempt has met with partial success as we discuss further along.

The forerunners of TNSS, i.e. the All-India Spinners' Association and the Akhil Bharatiya Sarva Seva Sangh (the two organisations later merged) have been involved in the development of khadi and village industries in Tamil Nadu since the early decades of the century. In 1950, when 100 field centres of the organisation had been established (annual production over Rs. 70 lakhs) with a membership of 15–70,000 spinners and weavers, the TNSS was created as an independent organisation to handle khadi production in the State. TNSS received an initial capital loan of Rs. 50 lakhs from the parent organisation and was registered under the Societies Registration Act (1860).

TNSS: HOW IT OPERATES

he TNSS has a four-tier organisational structure which combines decentralisation with a policy of commercial success.

Each stratum has a well-defined role to play, that is dictated by considerations of economic viability and self-reliance. The strata are: the village-level production centres, the block-level Primary Societies, the district level District Sanghs, and the apex body located at Tiruppur. Horizontal clubbing of units creates a higher-order stratum, and care is taken to ensure that there is full participation of the constituent units in the next organisational tier.

Village Centre: The village-level centre is the nucleus of production operations, and the 750 TNSS village-centres in Tamil Nadu represent of base tier of the organisation. The functioning of these centres provides a model for establishing producers' cooperatives at the village level. Each centre is organised around the dominant activity of the village (or group of villages). For instance, in a village of spinners and weavers, 50–100 artisans are contacted initially by a spearhead team of TNSS. The team comprises four or five experienced male extension workers from the Tiruppur-based Development Cells of TNSS. A meeting of artisans is held in the village and, if there is general acceptance of the team's suggestions to cooperatives as a constituent of TNSS, an Artisan's Society is formed. Each member is enrolled as a trustee of the cooperative. The members elect a President, Secretary and other office-bearers.

The village centre is affiliated to the local Primary Society and District Sangh of TNSS. The higher-order tiers supply the village unit with raw materials and also provide marketing outlets for the unit's production.

The member artisans obtain raw material from the village Centre, supply it with the finished product (f.i. yarn or khadi cloth), and may also make purchases of cloth for their own use. At some centres the artisans buy the raw material and later sell the finished product to the Centre; in other, they are supplied with the raw material for processing and are paid piece-rate wages. The majority of the artisans, both spinners and weavers, work at home. Of the spinners, only about 20 percent work in sheds where the New Model Charkha (NMC) has been installed, while the others, who spin on the traditional and Amba Charkha, work at home.

A permanent staff of four is appointed at each village centre, i.e. a master craftsman, a pre-processing expert, a manager and

an accountant. Often they are local persons who belong to artisan families. The manager and pre-processing expert are usually ex-craftsmen who are familiar with all aspects of production. On appointment they receive managerial and technical training at TNSS training centres in Tamil Nadu, and are then posted back to their villages. Both men and women are appointed as staff members, depending on their skill.

An interesting operational technique was evolved at some village centres to coordinate the production of weavers and spinners. Six or seven villagers belonging to the same village, and spinning uniformly within a reasonably homogeneous count range, were attached to the weaver. These spinners and 'their' weaver were identified as a production group. This group visited the centre on a fixed day of the week. At this meeting the weaver examined the yarn spun by the spinners, while the manager scrutinised the woven cloth. Flaws in yarn or cloth were pointed out individually, and payments made accordingly. The weaver carried back the yarn brought by the spinners, and the latter were issued a fresh supply of cotton. This arrangement had the seeds of decentralised autonomous production at the sub-village level. But its success has been limited reportedly by the opposition of the village Centre staff to any scheme which diluted their own authority. This experience highlights the field problems that a potential replicator, may encounter and resolution techniques to be adopted. The TNSS did not press for a continuance of the weaver-spinner groups so that hostilities were not aggravated, though in a different situation, such a risk may be warranted.

Primary Societies: Three to four production centres are organised into a Primary Society, and the office of the Primary is sometimes located in the building of one of the village Centres. A Primary is a voluntary federation of village Centres with two major objectives, i.e. first, to create an organisation which can liaise with higher-level tiers of TNSS in matters relating to the supply of raw materials, training of personnel, etc.; and second, to centralise marketing so that counter-productive competition among village centres is avoided. The Primary coordinates production in the village centres and markets their pooled production. The marketable surplus of each village Centre is routed by the Primary to TNSS Khadi Bhandars in the State, or is dis-

patched to the local District Sangh for bulk marketing outside the State.

Each constituent Artisan Society is represented by its office-bearers on the Primary. The Primary has a Managing Committee with an elected President, Secretary and salaried Member/Manager who is a full-time Sangh employee.

On an average, a Primary society has an annual production turnover of Rs. 5–10 lakhs, and working capital investment of Rs. 1–2 lakhs. When a Primary exceeds these production/investment norms, it is sub-divided into two or more societies.

District Sangh: Four or five Primaries comprise a District Sangh (which does not coincide with the administrative district), representing an annual production turnover of Rs. 25–50 lakhs, a working capital investment of Rs. 5–10 lakhs, an artisan enrolment of approximately 750–1500 members and a managerial staff of 50–100 Sangh workers. There are 53 District Sanghs of TNSS in Tamil Nadu.

The major function of a District Sangh is to coordinate the production of the Primaries affiliated to it by extending loans, procuring raw materials and marketing their output through wholesale and export channels. The Sangh also maintains audits and accounts for each Primary. The apex organisation of the TNSS operates through the District Sanghs to reach the village production Centres.

The District Sangh has a managing committee of nine to eleven members, with an elected Chairman, a Secretary and a salaried Treasurer/member. The office-bearers are elected by representatives of Primaries and by experienced personnel of the central TNSS organisation.

Apex organisation: The TNSS apex body, located in Tiruppur, has three major functions: the procurement and distribution of raw materials to Districts Sanghs; liaison with K&VIC and other state and central institutions; and training of workers and artisans. It does not directly manage any production unit, a function which has been effectively decentralised. Questions relating to product range and quality, wage rates, prices, etc. are reviewed by the apex body, which advises the Sanghs on the best course of action.

The apex organisation has reduced the areas of direct control wherever it has identified scope for division in any activity. In

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recent years it has formed affiliate bodies to deal with final processing of 'kora' (grey) cloth, and for inter-state bulk marketing, both of which it handled centrally in the past. The policy of decentralisation seems to be followed to ensure that the scale of operations remains manageable, as well as to promote the growth of self-generating independent units.

The voluntary decentralisation of authority and power has antagonists, even in an institution such as the TNSS with Gandhian roots. At the level of the District Sanghs, new centres of power seem to have emerged. Executive authority is concentrated in the Sanghs, and the message of voluntary federal cooperation does not appear to have percolated to the level of the village centres. Some of the Sanghs with progressive leadership display a commitment to decentralisation though others are interested in a semifuedal structure of patronage, and have lost sight of the organisation's ideals. Sangh workers have been encouraged to move between different tiers of the organisation so that vested interests do not develop and operational contact is maintained between the grassroots production units and the higher level cadres which coordinate their activities.

At all levels of organisation in the TNSS, policy decision are made on the basis of consensus; a single dissenting member may veto policy resolutions. All members of a unit in each stratum are expected to participate in general body meetings where long-term decisions are taken. The power of veto is reportedly used seldom, and in the 20 years of the apex body's existence, the the power of veto has not been exercised on a single occasion.

TNSS MEMBERS: WHO ARE THEY?

TNSS has reached out to the poorest households in more than 1000 villages of Tamil Nadu. The artisan-members of the village centres generally belong to the lowest socio-economic strata of village society. Landless Scheduled Caste households and marginal farmers account for about a third of the total TNSS membership. Others are small landholding households which augment household income through spinning and weaving. TNSS members contribute 30–50 per cent of their family's total income through spinning, weaving or village industries. Their

earnings are regular and crucial to survival in agricultural lean seasons.

A survey of 100 TNSS member households in villages in three blocks of Coimbatore district in July, 1977 provided a glimpse of selected economic characteristics of TNSS members. Investigation showed that the primary source of income of a majority of the surveyed TNSS households is agricultural labour, which yields an average monthly income of Rs. 100-150 per household of two adult labourers. Land-owning households (4-5 acres owned land) have an average monthly income of Rs. 200-400 per household of two adult labourers. Indebtedness is common, and outstanding debts range from Rs. 100 to Rs. 8000 per household. Loans are taken for daily necessities as also for social obligations. Few households have an adequate resource or educational base to enhance their income through new employment opportunities or through strengthening their existing income-generating activities.

In general, only one member of a family is affiliated to the village centre—the women-spinner or the man-weaver. Usually the artisan does not find time to participate in any other income-earning activity. A majority of the women spinners work at home and are able to intersperse household work with spinning. However, one-third of the women-spinners contacted during our survey also work as agricultural labourers for about six months in the year. During the agricultural peaks they spin for only three to four hours per day. They find this arrangement suitable because they are able to keep their options open in two activities, and both occupations yield comparable earnings.

Women-spinners are generally young, 16-35 years; about half are married. Five to seven per cent of the women are widows or destitutes who are the sole supporters of their families. The rest are young girls in their parental homes.

For an eight hour day, the women earn Rs. 2.50/3 for spinning on the traditional charkhas. Part-time spinners who spin for only three or four hours daily, earn Rs. 1/1.50 per day. The women receive cash from the village centre on completion of their assignment. All of them report that income-earning has enhanced their status in the household. But not all exercise control over the incomes they earn. Our survey showed that women who had been in the profession for several years, in some cases 15-20

years, generally kept their income themselves, while newer members in the same age-group with one to two years' experience handed in their earnings regularly to the head of the household. Several of the women had joined the village centre when they were 10–13 years of age, and therefore had decades of experience at a relatively young age. Girls now tend to join the centre later, at the age of 15–16 years. They undergo an initial training of some months at the centre during which they receive a token stipend.

TNSS MEMBERS: IMPACT OF THE SCHEME

The economic impact of TNSS-generated employment is clearly visible in member households, especially in those where women control the income. Seventy-five per cent of the women interviewed during our survey said that their earnings supported a higher standard of food consumption, clothing and health care for their families. The others reported that they saved their earnings for major expenses such as marriages, house repairs and construction, etc. Many had accumulated savings in a savings-account through the compulsory deposit of two paise per hank with the village centre and they could take loans against their savings, thereby evading the clutch of village moneylenders. The cover of Provident Fund and insurance schemes extended by several District Sanghs had also served to reduce insecurity about the future.

The member also said that for the first time in years they had an adequate supply of essential consumer goods at fixed prices through consumer cooperatives (locally known as 'Engal Ponda-gachaly') which TNSS has established in several villages. They were saved harassment and delay in procuring daily necessities.

The women spoke of the benefits they had derived from the TNSS scheme of non-formal education, the People's Education Programme (PEP). PEP teams visit Primaries and village centres to give basic instruction in hygiene, improved techniques of spinning/weaving, maintenance of tools, etc. They give elementary lessons in history, geography, accounting, etc. Sometimes, a doctor accompanies the PEP teams and conducts medical examinations at the village centres.

Yet, despite these economic and educational programmes, the

overall impact of TNSS on women-members is limited. Although women work for TNSS, they seem to be working as an isolated sub-set of the organisation. TNSS lacks a specific women's component in its overall programme. The general programmes do not reach women because of their special constraints of time, access to resources of the family and community and tradition-based prejudices which obstruct their fuller participation in a non-family institution. TNSS has not raised cadre of trained women workers whose main job it would be to integrate women-members in the development process initiated by the organisation. Consequently women-members function in a sterile environment, regard TNSS centres only as a source of employment and welfare, and not as nuclei of change with a potential for basic social readjustments.

TNSS: SCALE OF OPERATION

The estimate turnover of TNSS in 1976-77 was Rs. 7 crores of which Rs. 5.7 crores (80 per cent) was khadi production. The production of village industry products was Rs. 1.1 crores (i.e. soap, leather, footwear and edible oils).

In 1958 when TNSS was established, khadi production was Rs. 80 lakhs, consisting almost entirely of traditional spun khadi. Today, the production has increased seven-fold, and over 80 per cent of the yarn production is of the superior Ambar or NMC varieties. The switch to Ambar and NMC was made when it became evident that productivity was much higher on these charkhas than on traditional charkhas. Though this was an economic decision, the switch was made sensitively so that there was no retrenchment of spinners. Employment of spinners has in fact increased over the period 1973-74 to 1976-77.

TNSS has from time to time faced problems of stock-piling of khadi. In a vast organisation spread out in thousands of household units, imbalances between supply and demand are natural. In TNSS these imbalances are accentuated because in certain situations commercial considerations are subordinated to artisans' welfare. In the drought years of 1971-73 in Tamil Nadu, TNSS provided relief through a doubling of khadi production. The marketing infrastructure could not be expanded

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simultaneously, so that khadi stocks piled up. Also, TNSS decided not to off-load its stocks in conditions of sluggish demand caused by drought. At present TNSS stocks are valued at Rs. 1 crore.

MARKETING: EMPHASIS ON LOCAL SALES

Of the total TNSS sales, a little over 50 per cent are made in the State of Tamil Nadu, either directly through the village centres or through the TNSS marketing subsidiary, the Gramudyog Khadi Sangh which has established a network of retail points. Khadi Bhandars in urban and semi-urban areas of the State. There are approximately 300 TNSS Bhandars in Tamil Nadu, each with an annual turnover of Rs. 1-2 lakhs. The Bhandars are staffed by Sangh workers. A substantial proportion of the TNSS Khadi production, about 40-50 per cent is bought by its one-lakh membership through Khadi Bhandars.

For sales outside Tamil Nadu, TNSS relies on outlets of the K&VIC (e.g. Khadi Bhawans), sales emporia of the Tamil Nadu Government, and other wholesale organisations. These channels are supplied by the Central Vastralaya of the Gramudyog Khadi Sangh. The two Vastralayas, located in Tiruppur and Madurai, are major centres for finishing and storage of Khadi. All District Sanghs dispatch their marketable surplus to the Central Vastralaya.

FINANCE: HOW IT IS RAISED

The TNSS operates on a gross profit margin of 11 per cent of sales' revenues. The net profit is five to six per cent of sales revenue which accrues of the TNSS reserve fund. The TNSS as a whole has not made losses in a single year since its formation in 1958-59. However, some District Sanghs have shown losses, while others have consistently shown high profits. Surveys show that the level of profits is generally dependent on the managerial ability of Sangh workers in the District Sanghs.

The operations of TNSS are largely financed by the K&VIC that has a provision for extending working capital credit to the extent of 147 per cent of the production value of cotton khadi to any organisation engaged in its production. K&VIC loans

account for 55–65 per cent of the TNSS working capital requirements.

The organisation's own funds (accumulated reserves) provide 15 per cent of its working capital requirements, and about 20 per cent of the requirement is supplied by Central/State agencies.

Working capital funds of TNSS, 31-12-1976

	<i>Rs. lakhs</i>
1. Loans from Khadi and Village Industries Commission	376
2. Loans: Village Industries	67
3. Loans under special drought relief converted into Working Fund	140
4. Own capital	101
	684

The apex organisation of TNSS provides working capital finance to the District Sanghs according to the targeted turnover of each Sangh. The Sanghs, in turn, extend working capital finance to the Primaries.

SUMMARY: STRENGTH AND WEAKNESSES

The Tamil Nadu Sarvodaya Sangh (TNSS) has provided regular employment in khadi and village industries for the last 20 years to an increasing number of rural artisans without compromising on principles of commercial success. Its wage rates are comparable to corresponding wages in khadi production in other parts of the country, and its employees are constitutionally empowered to participate in decision-making at all levels of the organisation. The development of khadi and village industries in the country by K&VIC and other agencies has been a difficult exercise, fraught with risks and punctuated by failures. The performance of TNSS in promoting khadi production through a commercially viable system is exceptional. The critical inputs unique to TNSS which have contributed to its success are summarised below.

1. The organisation has adopted the ideal of decentralisation and self-management, based on the Sarvodaya philosophy of 'voluntary divesting of power'. The TNSS has applied this

principle to all its operation, encouraging the formation of compact self-reliant units of production, marketing, trading, etc. These units are linked horizontally to one another, and vertically to all other strata of the organisation and function in federal co-operation. The apex organisation coordinates the activities of the semi-independent District Sanghs and, through them, of the constituent Primary Societies and, finally, of the base field units.

2. Improved techniques of production have been introduced to improve the quality of the products and general productivity, without displacing existing workers.

3. Marketing strategy has emphasised local absorption of production. About 40–50 per cent or the annual khadi production is marketed within the State of Tamil Nadu through a network of TNSS retail outlets, i.e. Khadi Bhandars. For instance, of a total Khadi production of Rs. 5.72 crores in 1976-77, local consumption was approximately Rs. 2.5 crores.

4. TNSS has instituted several programmes for the welfare of rural workers which have strengthened the workers' loyalty to the organisation. These include Small Savings Schemes. Provident Fund, Consumer Stores, and also educational, medical and technical programmes.

However, the commercial success of TNSS must be assessed in the context of the generous support it receives from the K&VIC and government financing institutions. There is evidence of over-protection and buttressing of TNSS by these institutions as part of a national policy to support khadi production. While avoiding a discussion on this policy, a reference to it seems important to help the reader to note this aspect while evaluating the performance of TNSS.

Specifically, there are three features of TNSS which reflect weaknesses in the organisation.

First, the TNSS lacks a definitive programme for women which takes account of their special requirements and constraints. A general programme for all artisans has proved to be somewhat irrelevant to the real needs of the 60,000 women-members. The female staff at the field level has not been oriented to raising the political consciousness of women simultaneously with the strengthening of their economic base.

Second, despite the fact that over 60 per cent of the rural artisans engaged by TNSS are women, their representation at

the level of the District Sanghs and the apex organisation is negligible. There is only one Sangh with a woman-Secretary among the 53 District Sanghs. This is anomalous in a democratic organisation which cherishes the concept of equality.

Third, the practice of decision-making in the TNSS apex body through consensus appears to have succeeded through a tacit agreement among members to be 'obedient' to a dominant group or personality. The fact that the right of veto has not been exercised by a single individual in almost 20 years is extraordinary in such a vast organisation. Power cliques are known to develop at different tiers of the organisation as for instance, at the level of the District Sanghs, and with this the democratic orientation of TNSS diminishes. The focus of activities shifts from artisans' employment to office-bearers' welfare.

II-4 Handloom-Weaving of Woollen Khadi at Kashmir Dastkar Anjuman, Pampore and Chadura, Jammu and Kashmir

THE PROJECT: WHAT IT DOES

In the long winter months from October to April, about 200 poor rural households of Pampore, north-east of Srinagar in Jammu and Kashmir, are employed by the Kashmir Dastkar Anjuman in weaving and pre-weaving activities, bringing in a daily wage of Rs. 6–10 per household. The Anjuman engages about 1000 workers, 600–800 of whom are women and children. Each household is a compact production unit where the man is the weaver, and women and children assist in pre-weaving processes. The whole family works an average of seven hours a day, since one man-hour of weaving requires a back-up support by three to four man-hours of pre-weaving. Though the entire income accrues to the weaver, it is estimated that the contribution of pre-weavers to total income is Rs. 2–3 per day.

Agriculture is the traditional occupation of these households and most householders own land. However, the bitter cold limits agricultural activities and only one crop can be raised. This provides employment and sustenance for only four to five months a year. In this situation, subsidiary occupations that can be pursued indoors and that utilise a maximum amount of surplus family labour are at a premium.

Woollen handloom weaving is an important source of supplementary employment in the State, particularly in about 100 villages of Pampore block in Anantnag district and Chadura block in Srinagar district.¹ The local availability of raw wool and the local demand for woollens provided ideal “take off” conditions for the craft. Using simple, low-cost equipment, the craft involved the whole family in a common income-earning activity. In Muslim households, which account for almost the

¹The major areas of concentration of handloom weaving are villages Irich, Vricharsoo, Litter, Algar, Gandura, Indar, Hassanwani, Daulatpore, Branward and Chattagram, and Pampore town.

entire community of weavers in the State, the craft provided a unique opportunity for women to contribute to the family income in a joint endeavour with their men.

It is estimated that there are at present 8,800 workers in the woollen handloom weaving industry in J.K. According to a recent census survey of 100 villages² in Pampore and Chadura, 5,242 persons were engaged in woollen handloom weaving. Of these 1,193 were men-weavers, and 4,049 were women/child allied workers.

Handloom spinning and weaving are traditional skills in the State, and before the craft was commercialised practically every household produced woollens for its own use. With the entry of overhead agencies, the individual household units were linked to one another and to markets for raw materials and products. The pattern of home-based family production was not disturbed, but the orientation of the household unit changed from self-enclosed production-cum-consumption, to production for the market.

At present there are three organisations which service the handloom weaving industry in the State. Two of these, i.e. the Gandhi Ashram and Dastkar Anjuman, are non-official agencies, while the third the Khadi and Village Industries Commission (J & K branch) is a government organisation. These agencies operate in the same geographical zones, and have reached an agreement whereby handloom workers may register with one or more of them.

DASTKAR ANJUMAN: HOW IT STARTED

All three handloom agencies have sprung from the All-India Spinners Association (AISA) that was founded by Gandhiji in Wardha in the early years of this century.

AISA started its operations in J&K in 1928, some 50 years ago, with the objective of assisting isolated handloom workers to transform their hereditary skill into an income-earning occupation. The 'Swadeshi' movement for use of indigenously produced goods gave a fillip to the AISA programme.

²Report on the Woollen Handloom Industry in Pampore and Chadura Zones, J & K, Industrial Development Services, 1977 (mimeo).

With the setting up of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission (K&VIC) in the post-independence period, AISA gradually withdrew from the State. This led, in due course, to the emergence of the two non-official organisations. Both organisations were formed in order to provide gainful employment to weaker sections of the population, particularly to agricultural workers. The way that this was to be done was similar in both cases, i.e. through the distribution of raw wool to spinners for handspinning and yarn to weavers for closer weaving against piece-rate wages. The cloth was to be marketed by the agencies, and the funds re-cycled into the process of providing employment to the handloom workers.

The Kashmir Dastkar Anjuman (KDA) has an important component of rural reconstruction in its programme. Specifically, its object is to serve "women, children, displaced persons and Harijans" (Memorandum of Association) by enhancing both their economic and social status.

Registered as a Society, the KDA headquarters are located in Pampore town, and its activities are concentrated in the surrounding villages. The two other agencies, however, operate in both the Pampore and Chadura areas. The concentration of activities in a smaller area has enabled KDA to intensify the service of spinners and weavers and to build a well-coordinated organisation.

KDA: HOW IT OPERATES

The core functions of the KDA correspond closely to the original framework which this organisation adopted when it was established. Briefly these are:

- the procurement of raw wool from sheep breeders who clip their sheep twice a year, and from imported supplies. The raw wool is dusted, carded and stocked at KDA's regional Main Production Centres;
- distribution of wool to registered spinners, and sorted/dyed yarn to registered weavers. The raw material is either advanced on credit to the craftsmen, or it is 'put out' on a piece-rate basis;
- finishing of woven cloth at the Main Production Centres.

The finishing processes carried out at these centres include milling, washing, ironing, calendering, etc.;
— marketing of handloom products locally and outside J & K.

KDA has three separate departments to deal with production, marketing and administration. The apex is a trust consisting of 21 members, and its management vests in a nine-member governing body of trustees. The present Chairman, Begum Zenab, is an experienced social worker. The daily functioning and management of the organisation is conducted by its Secretary, at present Shri M.N. Dharu.

The marketing and administration departments of KDA are located in its Pampore office. Production is, however, organised through 12 village centres located in interior areas of Pampore block.³

Each field centre is a production-cum-spinning unit which deals with registered spinning and weaving households of two or three surrounding villages. The field centre provides work orders to the handloom households, and against these orders, it supplies raw materials of the required specification.

The man-weaver maintains contact with the field centre, and visits the centre to collect raw materials and to deliver the woven cloth, payment is made on the spot to the weaver after scrutiny.⁴ A deduction of Re 1 per 'thaan' is made and deposited in a savings account for each weaver by the field centre. Before the winter begins, the weaver-households are provided with woollen fabrics for their use against accumulated 'savings'.

An updated record of the issue of raw materials, receipt of finished products, deductions, net payments, etc. to each weaver is maintained in the Centre's books as well as in a Pass Book carried by the weaver. Although over 90 per cent of the weavers and their families are illiterate, the Pass Book is a trusted

³The 12 field Centres are located in the following villages: Ashomiji (Anantnag tehsil), Laragangipara, Boegan, Varibagh, Puhloo, Koredona (Shopian tehsil), Tral, Pokharpore, Chari-Sharist Raninwani, Nawasadal and Mendibal.

⁴The weight of each 'thaan' or bolt of cloth is expected to be 100 gm more than the weight of the raw material to allow for the weight of starch added in the weaving process.

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document that weavers refer to in case of disagreement over payments, allotment of raw wool, etc.

Each field centre has a staff of two or three personnel, a manager, a field assistant and store-keeper. The staff members, who are salaried employees of KDA, are local people.

A cluster of three field centres is linked to a higher-level centre known as the Main Production Centre (MPC). There are four such centres in the Anjuman, each located in a large village or town.⁵ The MPCs formulate production programmes for the field centres attached to them. They buy and stock raw materials and supply each field centre with its requirements. The centres in return dispatch their production of woven cloth to the MPC, that has facilities for finishing, dyeing and final processing. A part of the processed fabric is returned to the field to satisfy local demand. A proportion of the remainder is dispatched by the MPC to KDA headquarters at Pampore (see 'Marketing' below). The MPCs also retail woollen fabrics at the show-rooms attached to them.

The staff at an MPC consists of seven to ten persons, i.e. a production manager, weaving master, sorting officer, store-keepers, 'finishing' staff, accountant and other helpers. These are also local persons, and KDA employees.

The head office in Pampore provides financial and marketing support to the MPCs, but at the same time encourages them to function as independent production-cum-marketing units. The operations of the four MPCs are coordinated by headquarters to avoid overlapping in production and marketing programmes.

The three-tier production structure, i.e. (1) village level production-cum-spinning centres, (2) regional Main Production Centres, and (3) Pampore-based headquarters has proved to be the most suitable form of organisation for linking rural handloom workers to state and national markets.

KDA: SCALE OF OPERATIONS

The KDA accounts for between seven and ten per cent of the

⁵The four MPCs are located in Pulwara, Litter (Pulwana tehsil), Anantnag, Srinagar.

total production of woollen handloom in J & K and at present has an average production of over Rs. 25-30 lakhs (though there are fluctuations in production from year to year). The production was Rs 21.54 lakhs in 1975-76. Sales have kept pace with production, and in some years when supply has fallen short of demand, KDA has made purchases in the open market to fill the supply gap.

The bulk of the KDA production is accounted for by lois and pattis (woollen yard goods) for which there is a local demand in the State. Shawls and mufflers are also made. The manufacturing of tweeds has been introduced recently.

On an average, the output per weaver is Rs. 3,527 per annum, and the total investment per weaver (and allied workers) is Rs. 250, two-thirds of which represents working capital requirements.

Value added by weaver households varies from six to seven per cent in tweeds to 17 per cent in lois and shawls, with an average value added proportion of about eight per cent. At the finishing stage the value added ranges from seven per cent for imported merine wool products to ten per cent for products made from indigenous wool.

MARKETING

About half the production of woollen handlooms in J&K is sold in the State, but the Anjuman sells a substantial proportion of its production, about 80 per cent outside. The organisation has established a network of outlets for wholesale and retail sales at three levels, i.e. in the State capital of Srinagar and other J&K towns, in mofussil towns and rural areas, and in other parts of the country.

For domestic sales within J & K, the Anjuman has established sales depots in the weaving zone in rural and semi-urban locations. Its sales Bhandars at Srinagar (Residency Road and Central Market) and Sopore cater largely for tourists. For sales to other parts of the country, the Anjuman has established links with K&VIC and other marketing institutions. Major markets outside J & K are New Delhi, Haryana, U.P., Bihar and Himachal Pradesh. At present, wholesale sales account for about

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80 per cent of the total KDA sales, though the proportion of retail sales is rising.

FINANCE

The State Board of Khadi and Village Industries in J & K is the chief source of finance for KDA, that is a certified agency of the commission. The Anjuman is benefited by the norms for financial assistance laid down by K&VIC for such institutions.⁶ As in March 1975, borrowings from K&VIC stood at Rs. 19,32 lakhs. These borrowings enable the Anjuman to carry large stocks, that amounted to Rs. 12.8 lakhs (raw material and finished goods) in March, 1975. It is this stock-carrying capacity of the Anjuman that has relieved handloom workers of the burden of carrying stocks of raw materials or semi-finished and finished goods.

In addition, the K&VIC reimburses the Anjuman to the extent of the sales rebates it offers periodically to boost sales. The Commission also gives grants for training, and for the purchase of improved charkhas and looms.

The Anjuman at present has a Capital Fund of Rs. 30,550 (March '75) that has been built up with appropriations from the Profit-and-Loss Account. It also has a Reserve and Surplus Fund of the order of Rs. 1.48 lakhs (March '75). This Fund includes two ear-marked funds (i) Price Fluctuation Fund Rs. 10,000; and (ii) Artisans' Benefit Fund, Rs. 5,000/-. Its fixed assets are valued at Rs. 54,000 and include sheds, dyeing equipment, furniture, etc.

KDA: WHO ARE THE WEAVERS?

The weavers' households registered with KDA are predominantly Muslim, and belong to the poor rural peasantry with a

⁶The K&VIC offers financial assistance to certified Khadi production institutions. For working capital it provides interest-free loans of upto 147 to 200 per cent of the average annual production/sales and for capital expenditure such as the construction of work-sheds, procurement of tools and equipment, etc. loan up to 100 per cent of the requirement is extended.

strikingly low rate of literacy. A random sample survey of weaver-households in Pampore showed that agriculture and weaving are their two major sources of income, each contributing about half of the family income which averages Rs. 3,610/-.

Average *per capita* income in surveyed weaving-households was estimated as Rs. 618, as against the State average of Rs. 833.90 (1974-75). These statistics indicate that weaving households are not only amongst the poorer households in the State, but are also critically dependent on income from weaving. In some surveyed village in the Pampore block, weaving is the primary source of income. In no case does weaving contribute less than 20 per cent of the family income. Significantly, the dependence on weaving is found to be higher in the households with a relatively low household income. For households with an average annual income below Rs. 2,000, the contribution of income from weaving is 55.1 per cent whereas in households where annual income exceeded Rs. 5,000, income from weaving constitutes 47.5 per cent of household income. About one-fourth of the surveyed households earn more than Rs. 2,000 annually from weaving, while about 40 per cent earn less than Rs. 1,000 per annum from weaving.⁷

Weaving is a hereditary skill, and all processes associated with pre-weaving and weaving have been transmitted from one generation to the next in the weaver-households. The equipment used by the majority of the households and the technology of weaving, especially pre-weaving, has not undergone any significant change in the present century.

As practised in the Pampore area served by KDA (and most other parts of the State), weaving is essentially cottage-based and involves the entire family in different processes. When yarn is received by the weaver, women and children are involved in pre-weaving processes, such as sorting of yarn, preparation of yarn balls, winding of yarn on bobbins, and warp preparation.

Weaving is performed by men on a traditional 'throw shuttle' or the modernised 'fly shuttle' loom. The majority of weavers use the throw shuttle loom which costs Rs. 250-300 against

⁷The surveyed villages in which weaving is the primary source of income (that is, where contribution of weaving to household income is more than 50 per cent) are Gadura, Hassanwani Indar, Vricharsoo, Aglar, Woogerganda and Pampore town.

Rs. 500 for the fly shuttle loom. Yet the productivity per weaver on the modern loom is more than double that on the traditional loom.

The differences in output per weaver household are illustrated by two case studies conducted during the field survey. A household with family labour of one weaver, one woman and one child uses a fly shuttle loom and has work for the whole family for 11 months in the year, 25 days a month, 10 hours a day. This household produces tweeds and shawls. In the other case, the household has three workers, one man, two women and uses a throw shuttle loom. They make lois, and have weaving work for four months a year, 20 days a month and five hours a day.

Weaving provides more than six months' work to half the surveyed households, but less than four months work to about one-fifth of the households. A small percentage of the surveyed households, about 15-20 per cent, obtain weaving work for more than nine months a year.

KDA: IMPACT OF SCHEME ON WEAVER-HOUSEHOLDS

The basic impact of KDA on weaver-households in the Pampore area has been economic. By opening new markets for the weavers' skills and products the Anjuman has provided a supplementary source of income that has, in some cases, supported the survival of the weaver households.

Yet despite its commitment to rural reconstruction, KDA has not so far succeeded in setting up any specific schemes that integrate weavers in the process of economic development. For instance, weavers have not been covered by a minimum health scheme, education programme or other community development programmes. The construction of schools, libraries, reading rooms, etc. is an avowed objective of the Anjuman, but to date the weavers have not received these benefits. Nor has any effort been made to organise them into a cooperative, so that the concept of self-management and management participation is introduced to them.

The survey shows that none of the three agencies working with weavers in the Pampore area—KDA, Gandhi Ashram and

K&VIC—has formulated a comprehensive socio-economic development programme for the rural households. In fact, the KDA seems to have a broader-based programme than the other agencies. For instance, in cases of extreme distress, as in sickness or in the event of fire (wooden houses are a fire hazard) the KDA helps weavers with grants from the Artisans' Fund. But the total assistance rendered under this scheme is nominal.

The KDA has also set up training facilities on a small scale to link a larger number of skilled weavers in the area to the market through commercial production, and to upgrade existing technology. This scheme has made some impact on weaver and non-weaver-households in some areas. For instance, in the Khai Tangaon villages of Baramulla district, KDA has set up fully-equipped training centres and batches of 30–40 young persons have been given intensive training for three to four months by instructors and weaving masters. During this period the students are paid a stipend of Rs. 100 per month. On completion of the training of one batch, the Anjuman gives the trainees the option of converting the training centre into a field production centre under the KDA.

KDA: IMPACT ON WOMEN PRE-WEAVERS

The activities of the KDA, whether economic or welfare-oriented, have been directed at the weaver-household as a whole and have always been routed through the man-weaver. This approach has told against the women pre-weavers, because not only are their needs special and require special handling, but also because the lack of direct contact with them dissipates such benefits as there are.

The Anjuman does not have a cadre of local women workers of the village level in the Production-cum-Spinning Centres who could establish direct contact with the women of weaving-households and identify their felt needs. The present all-man staff of the village centre does not have access to women who observe purdah. As a consequence, women's needs have not been accorded recognition in the Anjuman's programmes, even though women comprise almost half the labour force 'employed' in the KDA scheme.

In many ways the women pre-weavers operate in conditions

identical with those that prevailed in the early decades of the century, and their personal status has remained unchanged. The following is a summary listing areas in which women pre-weavers have not registered any definitive change in the last few decades and especially since the establishment of the Anjuman:

1. Pre-weaving technology has not been upgraded, so that women and children perform physically arduous tasks for five to seven hours daily at low productivity. Since they do not communicate directly with KDA organisers, their suggestions on simple changes in tools and accessories used in pre-weaving have not been considered at all. Opportunities for training in improved pre-weaving processes have not been created for women. Owing to women's low productivity, children have to assist in the pre-weaving processes, and they are denied schooling from an early age;
2. The women do not receive any payment for pre-weaving work because the KDA field centre makes the payment to the man-weaver. The nutritional impact on the family of allowing women to spend a certain sum, particularly their own earnings, has been well documented through micro studies. By denying the women pre-weavers their wages, the KDA may inadvertently be missing an important opportunity for improving the health of members of the weaving-households;
3. The women's knowledge of health, hygiene, etc. has remained unaffected through the years of KDA's presence in the area. There has been no attempt to educate women through non-formal methods in family health, child-care, nutrition, etc.;
4. Women's status as family members and co-workers has not changed even with the development of the steady marketing link through KDA. The labour of women and children is taken for granted, and there is little recognition of the important nature of their contribution;
5. Women pre-weaves are isolated from one another and do not share professional or craft links. Partly owing to the closed Muslim society of rural J & K and partly to the lack of involvement of KDA in encouraging weavers and allied workers to link up as a professional group, the women work in isolation and do not derive the benefits of belonging to a professional sisterhood.

SUMMARY: STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES

The Kashmir Dastkar Anjuman has successfully mobilised cottage-based production units to produce woollen handloom for the market and, at the same time, has established strong marketing links with buyers within the State of J&K and in other parts of the country. Its operations have been commercially viable, and it has declared small annual profits. Contrasted with the performance of other agencies working with handloom weavers in the area, the functioning of the Anjuman is a successful model. The structural-and-functional form that has contributed to the success of KDA is summarised below:

1. KDA has created an appropriate infrastructure which utilises the weaving skill of poor rural households, and at the same time, processes or finishes the products professionally for market sale. The village-level Production-cum-Spinning centres collect semi-finished woven cloth from the weavers, and dispatch it for technical 'finishing' to the regional Main Production Centres. In this way the rural weaving household has access to competent processing facilities, and that enhances the marketability of its production;

2. Marketing is largely controlled by the apex body in Pampore, which has established links through the K&VIC and also independently, with wholesalers in J&K and in several other States of the country. A proportion of the production is also retailed locally so that weaver-households have access to good quality 'finished' products;

3. KDA has emphasised the commercial viability in its operations. Though it receives financial support from K&VIC, the Anjuman has imposed a self-discipline in working within the framework of its financial resources. Close financial supervision and meticulous accounting practices at each stage of production and marketing have enabled it to achieve commercial viability.

KDA's commitment to rural reconstruction and development activities, and its limited health and fire insurance programme, has won the trust and appreciation of weavers and laid the foundation of a happy relationship of handloom workers with the Anjuman.

The Anjuman appears to be poised for growth both in terms of production and technological innovation. From a present

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sales of Rs. 3.1 crore of woollen handlooms in J&K, the demand is expected to increase to Rs. 4.43 crore by 1980-81.⁸ At its present rate of growth the KDA is likely to account for about 10 per cent of the total production of woollen handlooms.

However, the woollen handloom industry in J&K has certain inherent features which have impeded progress and which could seriously obstruct the efforts of such an organisation as KDA.

For instance, there is keen competition for raw wool, both indigenous and imported, between the agencies operating in the area. A large proportion of raw wool supplies are channelled through middlemen and traders and agencies, such as KDA have not been able to introduce lasting changes in the system owing to vested interests. It is reported that traders in areas such as Panipat (Haryana) that is a dominant market for woollen handlooms, influence the distribution of raw wool between agencies in J&K, and also determine raw wool prices. Such a situation verges on the exploitative and works against the interests of both the rural weavers and consumers.

In marketing and sales of woollen handlooms, too, there is overlapping between the major agencies operating in J&K. Agencies tend to adopt sales practices that are counter-productive, and that enhance the price to the consumer without a proportionate increase in remuneration to the weaver.

The woollen handloom industry in the State lacks a uniform policy in upgrading the technology in weaving. The KDA itself has not taken an active interest in motivating weavers-households to use fly shuttle looms by extending credit, or facilitating the supply of such looms. Faced with competition from mill-made woollen yarn goods, sales of woollen khadi may suffer unless a coordinated programme of high productivity quality production is undertaken. Faced with this situation the KDA has not yet directed its attention to upgrading the village-level centres from coordinators of semi-finished production to full-fledged 'finishing-cum-processing' centres. This would serve to correct potential bottlenecks at the level of the Main Production Centres when the KDA expands production in the next few years, and would also encourage the village-level centres to function as independent production units.

⁸Kashmir Handicrafts—A Development Plan, J&K Government, 1976 (Mimeo).

II-5 Sikki Grass Handicrafts in North Bihar

SIKKI PROJECT: WHAT IT DOES

In three villages in North Bihar 200–300 craftswomen earn an unstable income of Rs. 20–30 per month for six to eight months of the year by supplying decorative Sikki reed articles to local procurement centres, the Sikki Sanchayan Kendras (Sikki Centres). The Sikki Centres are official village-level institutions which buy Sikkiware on behalf of the parent organisation in Patna, i.e. the Bihar State Handloom and Handicrafts Development Corporation in the State Department of Industries (hereafter referred to as ‘the Corporation’).

The Corporation puts the craft items on the market through a countrywide network of emporia, but has found that the product does not sell well. Often stocks of Sikkiware accumulate in godowns of the Corporation and are written off. The Corporation therefore regards the annual outlay on purchase of Sikki articles from the Sikki centres as a grant, and the craftswomen have inadvertently become ‘beneficiaries’ of this grant.

Articles of sikki grass have been made traditionally by women of the Mithila area of Bihar, north of the Ganges for use in life-cycle rites, particularly at births and marriages. The grass is a long-stemmed monsoon reed that grows on the banks of rivers in the four monsoon months, July to October. It is plucked by Scheduled Caste women agricultural labourers who supplement lean-season earnings by the sale of sikki grass. They prepare the grass for craft-making by severing the upper portion of the blade and splitting the stem with their teeth or nails. Bundles of grass are sold to caste Hindu craftswomen who soak the stems in a solution of gum and basic dyes. The blades are then coiled or embroidered over coarse grass (such as straw) with a thick needle to make simple articles like dolls, elephants, and trays.

In the 14 years that have elapsed since the establishment of the first Sikki Centre at village Sursand in district Sitamarhi, the ‘project’ has not registered growth either in coverage of artisans, or their remuneration, or total turnover. It has been a commercial flop: it has failed to achieve self-reliance. In many respects

the Sikki centres have developed the characteristic lag of projects on "charity".

In the following sections we try to answer the question, "What went wrong?" This analysis is interpreted for potential replicators/organisers in terms of pitfalls that may cripple an employment project.

SIKKI PROJECT: ITS BEGINNINGS

In the last two decades, the All-India Handicrafts Board (AIHB) has identified a large number of local arts and crafts in rural areas of the country. In each case the AIHB has organised a nucleus field production/service centre and, through it, linked rural artisans to the official network of the State Government. The centres were envisaged as catalysts of organised development of the crafts, that would capture markets for the handicrafts and, at the same time, preserve the intrinsic ethnic value of the craft. Such centres have spawned across the country, and some of these ventures have met with outstanding success, e.g. carpet-making in Uttar Pradesh and Jammu & Kashmir, silk weaving in the southern states, Madhubani folk-paintings in Bihar. Others have failed and have either been completely abandoned, or limped through a subsidised existence. Sikki grass handicrafts of Bihar is an example of an AIHB-initiated project that has failed.

In the early sixties, the Chairman of the AIHB, Smt. Kamala-devi Chattopadhyay, visited the North Bihar districts with officials of the State Handicraft organisation, the Bihar Cottage Industries Corporation. The Team selected Sikkiware for inclusion in the Board's programme for craft promotion in Bihar. In 1964 a Sikki Centre was established in village Sursand, one of the pockets of skill concentration in the area. The Centre was conceived of as a service-centre-clinic that would link craftswomen to the market through the supply of raw materials and marketing of products, and that would also provide technical guidance. The Sursand Centre was set up under the Bihar Cottage Industries Corporation in the State Department of Industries.

In the famine years of 1966-67 one other centre was established at village Gaunaha in district Champaran, and this was followed by a Sikki Centre at village Sarsobpahi in district Madhubani. These centres were also linked to the State Department of

Industries.

The establishment of the Sikki Centre was an important development for women in the area. Tradition and caste have assigned women submissive house-bound roles, and wage-work in the market is denied to most by custom. Illiterate and resourceless, the women are consigned to moribund lives in which the scope for contributing to the family income is severely limited. The Sikki Centres provided an opportunity to these women to participate in an income-generating activity within the framework of traditional values, using hereditary skills and local raw materials. Khadi spinning was another avenue of employment for these women, but with the introduction of the improved Ambar Charkha in the late fifties women-spinners on the traditional charkha were thrown out of employment. The Sikki Centres revived hopes of a steady source of employment for women.

SIKKI CENTRES: HOW THEY OPERATE

The Sikki Centres at villages Sursand, Gaunaha and Sarsobpahi are unregistered organisations that are now affiliated to the Corporation. The Patna-based Corporation was set up in 1975 to knit together smaller organisations working in handlooms and handicrafts. The handicrafts group consists of a broad range of heterogenous products, each of which is practised intensively in a small area of the State. The amalgamation has proved ineffective for the development of smaller crafts such as Sikki, since the Corporation has concentrated its initial resources on the promotion of large, commercially viable product groups such as handlooms.

The Corporation¹ has provided each of the Sikki Centres with a revolving fund of Rs. 2,000. This fund is used by the Sikki Centre to buy Sikkiware from the enrolled craftswomen, and is re-cycled into the centre when payment is received from the Corporation in Patna. The Corporation places orders periodically, generally once in six to eight weeks, though the magnitude and frequency of orders may vary between the Centres. The Sikki Centres function exclusively on the basis of orders received from

¹or its predecessor agencies in the Department of Industries.

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the Corporation, and do not sell independently to any other buyer, private or official.

The three Sikki Centres together supply Sikkiware worth approximately Rs. 1-2 lakhs per annum to the Corporation.

<i>Sikki Centre</i>	<i>Estimated annual procurement by the Corporation</i>	<i>Rs. '000</i>
Sursand, district Sitamarhi		60— 65
Gaunaha, district Champaran		20— 30
Sarsobpani, district Madhubani		20— 25
		100—120

At each Centre, the annual procurement is about half of the total commercial production of sikki articles in the three districts. Approximately Rs. 1.25 lakhs worth of sikki articles are sold by the craftswomen to private traders. It is estimated that there is a potential production capacity of Rs. 10 lakhs per annum in the three districts taken together.

Enrolment at the Sikki Centre does not carry a fee and is open to all craftswomen in the local village and neighbouring villages. An enrolled artisan is not assured of frequent or regular orders, but may hope for some work when the Sikki Centre receives orders from Patna. On receipt of orders, the Sancharak or manager allocates work among the enrolled craftswomen. The craftswomen who have a record for punctuality, quality and adherence to specifications receive the bulk of the assignment, while residual orders are distributed among the other craftswomen.

The women work at home, using their own stack of sikki grass, gum and dyes. Often the women are unable to execute orders fully for want of resources to buy their requirements of Sikki grass for the whole year during the four monsoon months when it is available,

The Sikki Centre is unable either to stock grass or extend credit to craftswomen for the purchase of grass because of its narrow capital base and severely limited resources. Also, it does not offer any training facilities to the craftswomen to orient their production to market demand. The women therefore have to rely on their own resources, financial and artistic.

At present the role of the Sikki Centre is limited to the collec-

tion and dispatch of Sikkiware from the local villages to Patna. In the prevailing conditions of uncertainty of orders from the Corporation, the Sikki Centres tend to send consignments which do not match the specifications of the orders. This results in rejects, and punitive 'cut-backs' in orders from Patna and imposes a strain on the craftswomen, particularly on those whose products are rejected.

At the Corporation in Patna, the Sikki Centres are regarded as small sick units, that are kept 'going' by the annual fund of Rs. 1-1.5 lakhs earmarked for the purpose. A relationship of patron-beneficiary seems to have emerged between the Corporation and the Sikki Centres.

STAFF: LACK OF TRAINING

Each Sikki Centre has a staff of two personnel who are paid employees of the Corporation. The Sancharak (or collector-cum-manager) is the central figure of the Sikki Centre, who is in charge of the collection and dispatch of Sikki consignments, payment to craftswomen, and liaison with the Corporation in Patna. The second employee is a peon who maintains regular contact with the craftswomen by visiting their homes. The Sancharak at the Sursand Centre receives a salary of Rs. 350 and the peon receives Rs. 100. The salary has been revised once in the last ten years.

At present, the managers at the three Sikki Centres are local persons who were originally appointed on an ad-hoc basis, and who have since remained with the Centre. The manager at the Sursand Centre is a woman Sikki artisan who has received the State Award for master craftsmanship, while the managers at the two other Centres are men. Though all the managers are familiar with the craft, they are not trained in management techniques. Their own education, middle or high school has not prepared them for the task of accounting, book-keeping, leadership and guidance.

The manager's remuneration is not linked in any way to total turnover of the Sikki Centre or to other criteria of efficiency. Consequently there is no incentive to increase the scale and scope of the Centre's operations. In fact, it is not unusual for a manager to reserve a part of the order from the Corporation for her-

self/himself or for near relatives. In a situation where the manager competes for orders, she/he is not likely to provide artistic leadership to craftswomen. Therefore, the bulk of the production at the Sikki Centres is stereotyped and uninnovative.

The managers, who visit Corporation headquarters regularly with the Sikkiware consignments, have been met with an attitude of indifference or neglect by the Patna based officials. Their low educational status and lack of managerial training has made them vulnerable 'inferior' colleagues, whose views are often overruled. In turn, the managers adopt a deferential attitude towards the officials, and tend to agree readily to all their directions, even if they run counter to known field experience.

MARKETING: WHY SALES HAVE STAGNATED

The most notable feature of the marketing of the Sikkiware by the Corporation and its predecessors is the lack of a coordinated strategy which orients production to market demand, and simultaneously locates new markets for this handicraft.

The Sikki Centres have received no guidance from the Corporation or other sponsors in design innovation, colour fastness, production from rodents, or durability. They have not been linked to organisations such as the Institute of Industrial Design in Patna which could experiment with new designs that combine utility with artistic merit. On the other hand, the Sikki Centres have neither the resources nor the vision to reach out on their own for the necessary guidance. At the Handicrafts Marketing Clinic, Patna held in March 1978 in Patna, representatives of several handicrafts organisations (i.e. AIHB, Corporation, HHEC, State Department of Industries, export organisations, etc.) recognised this impasse of Sikki production, and recommended the involvement of specialised institutions to tackle problems like colour-fading, poor quality, packaging and transportation, etc. However, unless the Corporation implements the proposed Sikki programme on a priority basis, this craft may again be superseded by other bigger and successful products.

Nor has any effort been made to identify new markets, within the country or abroad. Comparing the hard-hitting marketing strategy adopted by sponsoring agencies such as the Handicraft and Handloom Export Corporation (HHEC) for the promotion

of Mithila folk paintings, the low profile of the Corporation in the marketing of Sikkiware is indicative of its indifference. An illustration of the Corporation's neglect of Sikkiware sales is provided by its inaction in seizing the current popularity of 'natural colour' reed articles in Western markets, despite encouragement from HHEC.

There is a network of marketing outlets available to the Corporation for marketing of Sikkiware in major urban centres of the country. Its own five emporia are located in Bihar, and it has access to the Bihar State emporia in New Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Patna and Ranchi. Other organisations such as the Central Cottage Industries Corporation (CCI) which also have popular emporia in large cities, offer marketing facilities to handicrafts from all parts of the country. Export organisations such as the HHEC and Bihar State Export Corporation (BSEC) have wholesale and retail outlets abroad. All these official outlets are available to the Corporation to promote sales of Sikkiware, and yet it has difficulty in selling Rs. 1 lakh worth of Sikki articles a year.

In a typical emporium where Sikki articles are sold, they are stacked in an inconspicuous corner, or in the basement. Pale and dust-laden, the products look shabby and unattractive. The emporium staff consider Sikki sales incidental to the main business in khadi, handlooms, etc. and are reluctant to give it prominence in the show-room because they believe that it will not sell well.

Private trade, such as it is, seems to have played a more constructive role in the marketing of Sikki articles than official channels. A few private traders regularly buy high quality Sikki articles from individual craftswomen (and not from the Sikki centres) for supply to private craft emporia in Kathmandu, Calcutta and New Delhi. They provide market feedback to the craftswomen and ensure that production matches demand. However, since private trade is inevitably exploitative, traders in Sikki have cashed in on the craftswomen's vulnerability and anxiety to sell what they can.

FINANCE: DEPENDENCE ON SPONSORS

Each Sikki Centre has been established at an initial fixed invest-

ment of Rs. 2,500-Rs. 4,000. This sum was provided by the sponsoring agency in the Department of Industry, which was in charge of each Centre at the time it was set up. The amount included a provision for the construction/renting of a small pucca structure, a minimum of office furniture and operating reserves. No finances were raised locally through enrolment fees, subscriptions or donations.

Working capital requirements of the Sikki Centre are met in toto by the Corporation. For a large centre such as the Sursand Sikki centre total working capital requirement is approximately Rs. 2,000 per month. The total procurement of Sikki articles at this Centre is about Rs. 3,000 a month and since payments from the Corporation are received after the lapse of a fortnight, the working capital requirement for purchase operations is Rs. 1,500 a month. Staff salaries and other recurring expenses account for another Rs. 500 per month. Often there is a considerable delay in receipt of payments from the Corporation, running into six to eight weeks. During these periods, the Sikki Centres suspend procurement activities.

Estimated financial investment per Sikki Centre

1. Fixed Capital

(a) Two room pucca structure	2,000–3,000
(b) Operating reserves	500— 800
	<hr/>
	2,500–3,300

2. Working Capital

(a) Purchase of Sikki articles	1,500
(b) Salaries of Staff	500
	<hr/>
	2,000

For the Sikki craftswomen, there is a small component of financial investment that each of them makes on an individual basis. In order to produce articles worth Rs. 40 a month, a crafts-woman's working capital requirement for the purchase of raw material is about Rs. 13. Value added by the craftswoman is, therefore, almost 300 per cent indicating the potential of this craft in providing employment to women at low per capita investment. On an average, the women need to buy Sikki grass worth Rs. 100/125 for a year's requirements but are not able to

make the bulk investment, and tend to exhaust their Sikki grass stock in four or five months.

SIKKI CRAFTSWOMEN: WHO ARE THEY

Sikki craftswomen and women grass collectors are drawn from the poorest section of rural society. Landlessness, indebtedness and illiteracy are distinguishing characteristics of the Sikki households. The bread-winner, usually the adult male, does not have regular employment, and either works as an agricultural labourer or is a self-employed artisan (smithy or carpenter) since women of caste of Hindu households, Brahamin, Kaystha and Sudra, are not encouraged to participate in wage-earning activities, there is a high dependency ratio on the under-employed man earner. Families are large with between six and eight members, and the household income averages Rs. 800 a year.

For the majority of craftswomen, Sikki work is the only source of income. Others who have another occupation such as domestic service in the village, rank Sikki work as the primary source of income. Average earnings from Sikki are Rs. 20–30 a month or Rs. 250–350 a year, though skilled craftswomen earn Rs. 60–70 a month or Rs. 700–800 a year. The women obtain Sikki work for eight to nine months of the year, for an average of 10–15 days a month. On an average, craftswomen's earnings represent 15 to 35 per cent of total household income.

A large proportion of Sikki craftswomen are young between 15 and 35 years. Though the majority are married, almost 25 per cent are widows or abandoned wives, who are the sole supporters of their families. For these women in particular the facility of working at home, safe from exploiting employers, is a strong attraction. They prefer Sikki work to other paid and regular wage employment in the village.

SIKKI CRAFTSWOMEN: IMPACT OF THE SCHEME

There are approximately 4,000 women in each of the three districts, Sitamarhi, Champaran and Gaunna, who are skilled Sikki craftswomen. Of the estimated total skilled labour force of 12,000 women only a small number 200–300 women, are enrolled

at the three Sikki Centres. While the enrolled members can expect to earn a semi-regular pittance through the Sikki Centres, the other craftswomen cannot hope to turn their skill into an income-generating activity.

Seen in this perspective, the enrolled Sikki craftswomen would appear to be the lucky minority. Yet the facts do not bear this out. In the course of a field survey in June 1977 in village Sursand and villages of district Madhubani, it became apparent that the Sikki Centres have provided neither adequate compensation to the Sikki craftswomen for their tedious work nor assured them of regular employment. They have not serviced other urgent 'social' needs of the craftswomen, i.e. struggle against oppressive social customs, generation of self-confidence as members of their households and community, health-related education which would alert them against harmful practices in day-to-day life, etc.

With respect to the Scheduled Caste grass collectors, the record of the Sikki Centres is even less impressive. The Sikki Centres do not enrol grass collectors and in fact do not consider them as part of the Sikki project at all. The women-grass collectors are in critical need of support from the Sikki Centres since they pluck grass at considerable personal risk. The land owners fix a daily rental for the privilege of plucking grass, but the grass-collectors, who are rendered extremely vulnerable in the agricultural lean season, try to avoid this levy by stealing the grass. Violent disputes follow, and the women are often caught and beaten. Intervention by the Sikki Centre may help to establish the women's *locus standi*.

Yet the potential of the Sikki Centres in upgrading women's lives is unquestionable. The field survey showed that personal earnings bring 'status' to the craftswomen. The women report that they participate more actively in the decision-making in the household and are respected in the community. Harassment from in-laws and the husband is also reduced because of the women's ability to earn.

The craftswomen are paid cash at the Sikki Centre. This income small as it is, is regarded as a personal income that craftswomen are generally able to spend as they like. The bulk of the income is spent on essentials such as food (edible oil, salt, spices, clothing and soap). However, the earnings are too low to make any impact on nutritional levels or health standards.

Some women also reserve a part of their income for their children's education since they attribute their own vulnerability to their illiteracy.

As the single women's institution in the village and neighbourhood, each Sikki Centre is in a unique position to service the felt needs of women in the area. The women, who live in conditions of economic and social oppression, have responded enthusiastically even to the low-keyed Sikki Centres, and recognised them as potential agents of change. The Centres, on the other hand, have not utilised this built-in-acceptability and goodwill among its members.

SUMMARY: WHAT WENT WRONG WITH THE PROJECT?

In the 14 years of its subsidised existence, the 'Sikki project' has shown convincing evidence of stagnation. At the three Sikki Centres the turnover has remained constant, enrolment of crafts-women has not increased significantly, and their earnings have remained static at Rs. 20-30 per head. Sikki Centres have not introduced any programmes to strengthen women in non-economic spheres such as education, health or child-care.

The Sikki Centres have strayed from the role originally conceived for them, namely to serve as foci of development of Sikki craft and craftswomen. Why is this?

First, the Sikki Centres were established as field branches of a large Patna-based Corporation,² that exercised complete financial and administrative control. The Sikki Centres were non-autonomous units that had to function within the bureaucratic framework of the parent organisation. This left little room for a dynamic interaction with the field, or for local initiative. The centres did not become self-generating units that could operate without support from an overhead agency.

Second, there was no attempt at orienting Sikki production to market demand. The parent organisations did not ask itself "What will sell?" Nor was an attempt made to identify the most

²Either of the State Department of Industries, the Bihar State Small Industries Corporation, or the recently-formed Bihar State Handloom Powerloom and Handicrafts Development Corporation.

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suitable marketing channels. The entire production of the Sikki Centres was bought by the sponsoring agencies and marketed unimaginatively through their network of emporia, together with a heterogenous range of handlooms and handicrafts. The Sikki Centres were not encouraged to develop independent marketing links, either with official buyers or private traders. The Centre tailored its procurements to the requirements of sponsors, and did not make entrepreneurial probes on its own into the market.

Third, the staff of the Sikki Centres was not trained in management techniques, nor had they the technical competence to inspire craftswomen to high quality and diversified production. Also, since payment was not tied to performance, the staff was not motivated to increase the scope and scale of operations of the Sikki Centres.

Fourth, the craftswomen were not supported by the Sikki Centres in the production of Sikki articles through the provision of credit or specialised training and had to rely exclusively on their own resources, both financial and artistic. Therefore, production stagnated in terms of quality, and the folk-based appeal of production in the early years was lost through repetition.

Fifth, the All-India Handicrafts Board did not involve itself with the Sikki scheme. The premature withdrawal of AIBH left the Sikki Centres without competent guidance and technical support. The State agencies entrusted with the development of the Sikki Centres lacked a cadre of dedicated and trained personnel who could orient the Sikki Centres towards self-reliant growth. As a result, the Sikki Centres operated in an enclosed environment that did not foster dynamic growth.

Part III: PROJECT SIMULATION

- III-1 INTRODUCTION**
- III-2 MODEL I: GUIDELINES FOR
PAPPED-MAKING UNIT**
- III-3 MODEL II: GUIDELINES FOR
COTTON HANDLOOM SHIPNNING
AND WEAVING AGENCY**
- III-4 MODEL III: GUIDELINES FOR
WOOLLEN HANDLOOM SPINNING
AND WEAVING AGENCY**
- III-5 DONT'S FOR PLANNERS OF
RURAL WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT
PROJECTS**

III-1 Introduction

Three model schemes for providing employment to rural women are presented in this section. The schemes relate specifically to pappad-making, cotton yarn spinning and woollen handlooms. The project guidelines may serve for other related products/activities, and alternatives where feasible have been mentioned. A check-list of 'Don'ts' has been included to highlight problems that may arise because of deficiencies at the planning stage of an employment project, and that later cause supply or demand bottlenecks. The 'Don'ts' have been derived from the survey of a handicrafts project—the making of craft items from "Sikki" reed.

As a prologue to the detailed project guidelines, a set of general guidelines has been presented to assist in the planning and formulation of projects providing employment to rural women. These guidelines cover a broad range of concerns to the potential organiser of women's projects, extending from the identification of the target groups of women to registration of the institution or affiliation with a strong local agency.

STEP-BY-STEP GENERAL GUIDELINES FOR PLANNING AND FORMULATING PROJECTS FOR RURAL WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

FIRST STEP

The first step is to identify the women in a given area, who are intended to be benefited through the proposed projects. A preliminary survey may be necessary to identify broad classes or ethnic groups of women who are denied an opportunity to earn an income in wage employment either because of traditional taboos or because of a lack of employment opportunities. Local social workers or voluntary agencies may also be contracted for assistance in identifying 'hard core' unemployed women of the poorest rural households.

SECOND STEP

The second step should be detailed survey of the socio-economic condition of the individual (prospective) women-partici-

pants; their households, their availability for work (hours of the day, number of hours a day, days a week/month), their education, particular skill, experience, whether they need work that they can do at home, or if they work outside the home at a centre. If so, how far from their home? Can they, or are they willing to travel for work without distress? Preference, if any, for a particular type of work; minimum income expectation, and so on.

THIRD STEP

The third step is to identify the likely economic activity/activities that will suit the conditions of the women (as revealed by the above survey) and that the latter could possibly undertake with some training and if necessary reasonable adjustment.

FOURTH STEP

The fourth step to carry out a feasibility study of the potential economic activity/activities in order to choose the one that is (a) economically most rewarding to the women-participants and is viable and (b) most appropriate/satisfactory in terms of the given socio-economic and geo-physical conditions of the area.

A feasibility study should preferably be entrusted to a professional group or carried out with its assistance.

FIFTH STEP

The fifth step is to determine the most satisfactory institutional set-up (registered society, cooperative, company or trust) to undertake to implement the proposed project. Two main criteria in determining the institutional set-up are (a) the competence with which the project must be managed and run and (b) the concern with which the interest of the women-participants would be protected and promoted.

SIXTH STEP

The sixth step is to identify a 'Mother' institution that would foster the growth of the institutional set-up identified above in the formative period.

SEVENTH STEP

The seventh step is for the "Mother" institution to:

- (a) hold meetings of the prospective participants and place the entire plan before them for their views and general consent and the contribution that is expected of them in the project;
- (b) contact potential financing institutions, donor agencies—Government, non-Government—to raise the requisite resources;
- (c) prepare a detailed plan of implementation with deadlines for different activities to ensure speedy and coordinated execution of the project, including reporting system;
- (d) take steps to organise and register the institution that will ultimately run the project;
- (e) pending formation of the above, appoint a Governing Council and explain to it the basic objectives and plan of action.

EIGHTH STEP

The eighth step is for the Governing Council to appoint a Project Director with adequate delegation of powers. The Governing Council itself must vigorously review the progress after fixed intervals in terms of objectives of the project, the project activity undertaken and the schedule of implementation.

NINTH STEP

If what is proposed is a participatory institution, i.e. where the women-workers are expected ultimately to manage their own enterprise, before it withdraws from day-to-day management, to ensure that most (if not all) participants have been given the minimum orientation in—

- their basic rights and minimum obligation both as owners of the enterprise and as workers/employees.
- overview of the whole project—its economics, prospects, problems, conditions of success, competition, viz.
- how and from where raw material is procured
- how and where the goods (services) are marketed

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- how and from where funds are raised
- operation of bank accounts
- how accounts are maintained
- how meetings are conducted
- what minimum information is required to exercise adequate control over management.
- The important laws/regulations relating to their enterprise, the specific offices/officers concerned with enforcement.

III—2 Model I: Guidelines for Pappad-Making Unit

Project: Food processing

Product: Pappads (food-snack)

Alternative

Products;

- (i) Pickles, Chutneys, jam, etc.
- (ii) Ground spices and spice-mixes
- (iii) Dehydrated onions, peas and other vegetables
- (iv) Grain-based preparations (e.g. wheat porridge, sago meal, wholemeal biscuits, high protein food pockets)
- (v) Lunch-box service (for urban areas only).

In this section step-by-step guidelines are provided for setting up a Pappad manufacturing unit employing 70–75 rural women, and with an annual production of Rs. 2.5 lakhs, or a monthly turnover of Rs. 20,000. The guidelines have been constructed from a survey of the Valod Pappad Centre of the Shri Mahila Grih Udyog Lijjat Pappad Organisation (headquarters in Bombay). Valod is a mofussil town situated in Surat district of Gujarat, and the Pappad Centre draws women from the town as well as surrounding villages. In the last 12 months two new Lijjat branches have been established at Delhi and Madras.

STEP 1: LOCATION

In order to select a site for the Pappad Centre, the following considerations should be borne in mind:

- (i) the areas should be either a pulse-growing area (urad and moong), or an area where pulses are freely and cheaply available;
- (ii) the Pappad Centre should be located in a large village or a small town, preferably near a wholesale market or 'mandi' to facilitate the purchase of raw materials.

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- (iii) the village/town should be located centrally with easy access to a cluster of villages and hamlets so that the maximum number of rural women may be serviced.

A four-to-five room pucca structure is likely to be required for the Pappad Centre. In the initial stages, the Centre may be located in rented premises with an adequate supply of water and electrical connection.

STEP 2: TARGET GROUP OF WOMEN

A quick survey of the population at the selected site should be conducted to identify the poorest home-bound women who are not employed in an income-earning activity either owing to tradition, or for lack of employment opportunities. Women who are seasonally employed (as for instance, agricultural labourers) may be recorded in the survey as only seasonally available for work at the Centre. The survey should also investigate the women's minimum expectations of income as this will provide a basis for targeting the average daily earnings at the Pappad Centre.

Following the identification of the women who could be engaged in home-based production on a regular basis, a second quick sample survey would have to be conducted to determine their pattern of time-allocation. In other words, this survey would reveal the time available to the women during the day for pappad-rolling. Accordingly, realistic estimates of the average daily productivity may be made.

STEP 3: LINKS WITH OVERHEAD AGENCIES

The organisers of the proposed Pappad Centre should establish contact with a local agency that has been active in social welfare and development work in the area and has gained acceptance in the community. Simultaneously, they should also contact the headquarters of the Lijjat Pappad organisation in Bombay,¹ and through them, the Khadi and Village Industries Commission.

The organisers should seek assistance from the overhead agen-

¹Shri Mahila Grih Udyog Lijjat Pappad, 15, G. Shankar Bari Lane, Room No. 223, Jagannath Shankar Sheth Road, Bombay-400002.

cies in specific areas such as financial support (direct loans or loans routed through commercial banks), and managerial-cum-technical expertise. The overhead agencies should be encouraged to pool their resources and depute a joint team of personnel who have experience in community work, the setting up of commercial endeavours, as well as the specific requirements of a Pappad Centre of the "Lijjat model".

The spearhead team must stay at the centre site for three or four months and train the organisers or their appointees. This team would have to withdraw gradually and only when the newly-trained management has grown familiar with all aspects of running the Centre.

STEP 4: CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

A Pappad Centre of the "Lijjat model" would be an autonomous production-cum-marketing unit that is registered as a public trust or cooperative society. Registration is conducted by the local Registrar of Cooperatives (or Societies). Recognition should also be sought by the Khadi and Village Industries Commission (K&VIC)² through the local Khadi Board. Lijjat headquarters in Bombay can be approached for initial contact with K&VIC. When the new unit is recognised by K&VIC, exemption from sales tax and octroi levies could be sought. The local officials to be contacted for this purpose are the Sales Tax Commissioner and the Octroi Superintendent. A minimum of four months will be required to complete the formalities of registration.

Safeguards could be built into the constitution of the Pappad Centre to ensure that members' rights are protected, i.e. each member possesses the constitutional authority to participate in decision-making. The constitutional format of branches of the Lijjat organisation could be consulted for the purpose. According to this model, all major issues relating to the functioning of the Centre are decided by consensus at a General Body meeting of members that is held at least once a month.

Membership of the Pappad Centre may be restricted to women as in other "Lijjat model" centres. Any women above the

²Khadi & Village Industries Commission, Gramodya 3, Irla Road, Ville Parle (West) Bombay-400056.

COMMUNITY HEALTH CELL

326, V Main, I Block

Koramangala

Bangalore-560034

India

age of 15 years could be entitled to membership. The Lijjat Centres do not charge enrolment or membership fees. The members should be asked to pledge themselves to mutual cooperation and loyalty to the new Centre. The Pledge Form signed by new members of Lijjat Centres could be used as a model (a copy of the Pledge Form is provided in Schedule-A).

At the apex, the Pappad Centre could have an Executive Committee comprising members of the Pappad Centre, representatives of the over-head agencies and social workers. The term of office of the Executive Committee may be limited to one year to enable a larger number of women-members to participate. The Executive Committee would be expected to take policy decisions and monitor the commercial operations of the Unit.

STEP: 5 APPOINTMENT OF PERSONNEL

The success of the Valod Lijjat Pappad Centre has been attributed largely to the professionalism and dedication of its staff. Care will have to be taken to ensure that the right persons are selected to run the proposed Pappad Centre.

The core salaried staff of the proposed unit could include the following personnel:

<i>Permanent staff of the proposed unit</i>	<i>Suggested salary</i>
	(Rs. per month)
Manager (man/woman)	350-400
Accountant (man/woman)	300
Two supervisors (woman)	250 each
Two distributors and checkers (women)	175 each
Three pounders, grinders, packers, etc. (men)	160 each

The Manager (Sancharak or Sanchalika) would be required to be familiar with all aspects of the day-to-day functioning of a commercial production unit, i.e. production scheduling, accounting, publicity, sales and income tax laws, etc. The manager would also be required to have a knowledge of the running of cooperatives. In addition, he/she would be expected to have a pleasant working relationship with the members and to respond sensitively to their needs. A person could be hand-picked for the job of Manager by the spearhead team on the

basis of personal contacts. Though there is no age or sex restriction, the manager should preferably be in the age group 25–45 years.

Supervisors, who would be required to monitor all stages of production and packaging, must be able to command respect in the community of pappad-rollers. The selection may be made from among middle-aged prominent women of the neighbourhood who have enrolled as pappad-rollers at the Centre.

For the post of dough distributor-cum-pappad collector, girls with a minimum of High School education would be required. These girls would be expected to keep meticulous records of dough distribution, collection, payments, deductions, accretions to each member's savings' fund, etc. These girls would come into daily contact with the members, and could later serve as an effective means for imparting non-formal education.

Grinding, pounding, etc. are physically strenuous jobs at which men's performance has been better than women's. It is therefore recommended that young men be appointed to these posts, with the prospect of promotion to the rank of Manager, or an option to become commission agent for the sale of pappads.

STEP 6: DAY-TO-DAY FUNCTIONING

The Lijjat Pappad Centres open for work early in the morning, by 5.30 a.m. The Manager (Sanchalak/Sanchalika) or/and other workers engage in dough preparation that is composed of the following operations:

- (i) Mixing of powdered spices with powdered pulses in proportions laid down by the Lijjat organisation. The pulse powder and some spices are supplied by the central Raw Materials Godown of the Lijjat organisation in Bombay. A few centres such as Valod "make" their own pulse powder by procuring pulses from the neighbourhood and having them ground at local grinding mills.
- (ii) Preparation of dough mixture by adding a solution of soda bicarbonate and water to the powdered pulses and spices.
- (iii) Distribution of measured quantities of the dough-mix to women-kneaders who augment their income from pappad-

rolling by kneading at Pappad Centre in the early morning hours. A little oil is added at this stage.

- (iv) Flattening the dough with iron bars on a firm base. This operation is conducted by men at most of the Lijjat Centres.
- (v) Weighing of 3 kg balls of dough (or smaller amounts) so that pappad-rollers are not kept waiting for the dough.

During the above operations the production-supervisor must be present and should personally oversee each process. She should ensure strict adherence to Lijjat standards of quality and cleanliness.

The dough balls have then to be distributed to pappad-roller members who visit the Centre between 7 and 9 am. Members should be allotted serial numbers and special 'windows' at the distribution-cum-collection counter. Records of dough distribution must be maintained meticulously for each pappad-roller by the distribution staff.

The dough is then rolled into pappad at home by the members on rolling boards and pins supplied by the Centre. The pappads have to be rolled in two sizes, large and small, and according to a prescribed thickness. In order to facilitate rolling, oil is added to the dough by the pappad-roller. This oil has to be bought by the women themselves. Rolled pappads have to be dried on inverted twig baskets or laid out on mats. In the evening, when the pappads are dry, the women have to make another trip to the Pappad Centre to 'check in' the finished product. Members' homes must be regularly visited by the Inspection Supervisor to ensure that pappads are rolled in hygienic and clean surroundings. These surprise checks of members' premises have been found necessary to protect the consumers, the Pappad Centre as well as the pappad-rollers.

Pappads brought by the pappad-rollers must be checked and scrutinised closely by the distribution-cum-collection staff. Misshapen or broken pappads or those with holes, etc. must be rejected (the rejects are later sold at a concessional rate), and deductions made from pappad-rolling charges. A short-weight of 200 gm per kg. of dough may be permitted to allow for wastage in rolling, and any short-weight beyond that may be deducted from rolling charges payment should be made in cash, on

alternate days or weekly according to the members' convenience. Payments must be made punctually and regularly since this is among the most attractive features of the Lijjat system for women pappad-rollers.

A voluntary deduction of ten paise per kg of dough rolled may be made from each members' payments and saved for her so that a substantial sum accumulates in time as her personal savings.

Packaging of pappads should be conducted simultaneously with the process of collection and scrutiny. Packets of two sizes, 390 gm and 240 gm could be prepared. Cellophane bags with Lijjat marketing are generally used, and each packet contains a slip describing the date of packaging, ingredients used and recommended retail price,

The packets should then be stacked in the store room. Precautions may be taken to protect the packets from attacks by rodents and insects.

STEP 7: MARKETING

In the Lijjat system, the bulk of domestic sales is conducted by commission agents. These agents receive a commission on the ex-factory price of each packet of pappads. The average ex-factory price, rates of commission wholesaler's price, retailer's price and consumer's price for a pappad packet of 390 gm are summarised in Table 2.1.

As the table shows, on an average, the process cost of a pappad packet of 390 gm is Rs. 2.45-2.75 and f.o.b. price is Rs. 3.40, allowing a margin of 65-95 paise for a packet of pappads. This represents a mark-up of 23-39 per cent. However, variations in production cost and fluctuations in f.o.b. price realisation usually yield an average operating margin of 20-25 per cent. The new pappad centre may well adopt this commercial norm.

The agent's commission stated in the above table would be inclusive of the transport charges that he is expected to bear. The Lijjat organisation has provided at least one van to each of its constituent Centres for the purpose of transporting pappads from the Centre to the point of sale. The new centre could either entrust the task of transportation to the agent or could initially hire a tempo or van.

TABLE 2.1
Average marketing mark-ups of a 390 gm packet of 'Lijjat' Pappads (in Rs.)

Process cost	F.O.B. price	Agent's commission received by Pappad of Pappad Centre	Price	Gross profit	Wholesaler's purchase price	Retailer's purchase price	Consumer's purchase price
2.45 to 2.75	3.40	10 p.	3.30	65–70p 55–85p	3.40	3.50	3.80

In appointing commission agents the Pappad Centre could consult both the Lijjat organisation (head office) as well as the local over-head agency. The agents must be reliable and professionally competent. Individuals from the trading and business community may be best suited to the job.

As in the Valod Pappad Centre, a market could first be established in the urban areas of the neighbourhood, and then more distant markets could be probed. An attempt could be made to programme sales in such a manner that a weekly turnaround of production is ensured. Agents could be encouraged to maintain a roster of the monthly off-take by individual wholesalers/retailers so that both supply bottlenecks and stock-piling are avoided.

STEP 8: FINANCE

The fixed capital requirement of the proposed unit is likely to be of the order of Rs. 3,000. This account includes the outlay on grinding, kneading and pounding equipment, office furniture, etc. (See Step 9: Equipment). A sum of Rs. 40–50,000 will be required at a later stage for the purchase of a van or other vehicle for the Centre.

The working capital requirement of the proposed pappad centre is likely to be about Rs. 20,000–22,500 a month, with the breakup shown in Table 2.2.

Of the total working capital requirement of Rs. 20–22,000 the bankable component (i.e. raw materials and finished stock) is Rs 17,000. Attempts could be made to raise the rest of the requirement from institutions such as K&VIC that extends interest-free loans to the extent of 14 per cent of the average annual production. However, it is recommended that the pappad centre should not seek loans on a regular basis since the enterprise must be based on the principle of self-generating growth.

The proposed unit could work towards a gross profit margin of 12–15 per cent of sales revenue, i.e. a monthly gross profit of Rs 2,500 to Rs 3,000.

STEP 9: EQUIPMENT

Some of the equipment required in the proposed pappad enterprise would have to be 'installed' in the homes of pappad-rollers, and the rest would be located at the unit premises.

TABLE 2.2

Estimated working capital requirement of the proposed pappad-making unit with an annual production turnover of Rs 2.5 lakh (Rs 20,000 per month)

Working Capital Requirement:

	Rs.
1. Raw Materials (one month)	4800.00
(i) Urad 1200 kg @ Rs 4.00 per kg	425.00
(ii) Moong 125 kg @ Rs 3.40 per kg	7.20
(iii) Spice—Heeng—4 kg @ Rs 1.80 per kg	1000.00
Pepper 50 kg @ Rs 20 per kg	45.00
Chillies 3 kg @ Rs 15 kg	10.00
Salt 25 kg @ Rs 0.40 per kg	75.00
(iv) Soda bicarbonate, 15 kg @ Rs 5 per kg	80.00
(v) Oil 10 litres @ Rs 8.00 per litre	400.00
(vi) Polythene bags	800.00
(vii) Others	7642.20
	(approx.)
	8,000
2. Salaries to Centre Staff (one month)	
(i) Manager	300–400
(ii) One Accountant-cum-Assistant	300
(iii) Two supervisors @ Rs 250 each	500
(iv) Two women distributors, checkers, etc. @ Rs 175 each	350
(v) Three male pounders, grinders, packers, etc. @ 160 each	480
	Sub-total (approx.)
	2,000
	2,000
	10,000
3. Rent (one month)	350
4. Stationery, postage, etc. (one month)	300
5. Wages to pappad-rollers	
(7 days @ Rs 25 per week per worker)	1875
6. Finished stock (seven days)	9000
7. Transport and haulage, etc.	200
	Sub-total
	11,725
	(approx.)
	21,725
	22,000

Mechanical processing in the Lijjat model is minimal, and all the tools used are simple and hand-operated.

The equipment required at the unit premises is listed below:

TABULATION 2.2 EQUIPMENT REQUIRED AT UNIT PREMISES

Three to four hand mills for grinding of dal

A flat iron base 6' by 3' (approximately) and 10–12 iron bars for pounding dal

Ten to twelve containers in which the kneading can be done.

Jute bags for stocking finished pappads.

The equipment and materials required in the home of the pappad-roller is as follows:

TABULATION 2.3 EQUIPMENT/MATERIALS REQUIRED IN THE HOUSE OF THE PAPPAD-ROLLER

- (a) Metal/wooden board and rolling pin—to be supplied by the pappad centre
- (b) An aluminium or brass utensil to bring the dough and take the rolled pappads
- (c) Oil 50-100 gm per day, Rs 0.50–1.00 per day
- (d) Coal (during monsoon)
- (e) Brazier (during monsoon)
- (f) A large mat or twig baskets to spread out the pappads

STEP 10: EXTRA ECONOMIC PROGRAMMES FOR MEMBERS

The Pappad Centre is likely to achieve its objective of socio-economic development of the members and their households by an integrated programme that emphasizes their economic well-being as well as raises their self-confidence and status. It is suggested that the following programmes be considered for inclusion in the Pappad Centre's action framework, and that they be introduced from the earliest stages:

- (i) Non-formal education in health, hygiene, nutrition, accounting, etc. The nature and form of instruction will have to be decided in the context of local conditions;
- (ii) Family programmes to raise members' knowledge of the political system; the role of public services such as the police; the administrative framework with special reference to the agriculture department, office land records, department of small-scale industries, etc.;

- (iii) Discussion on infructuous social practices and mobilisation of members' opinion with respect to customs/forms which have eroded self-respect of the individual and family;
- (iv) Special gatherings of the pappad-rollers and their families at the Centre;
- (v) Excursion trips to places of historical, religious, national interest with the whole family;
- (vi) Provision of personal loans to members to relieve them of the financial and morale burden of borrowing from the local money-lender.

These programmes would have to be introduced initially by the staff members or members of the Executive Committee, but later the members would themselves be expected to take the initiative. The success of the 'conscientising' component of the Pappad Centre's programme will be largely dependent on the success of the income-generating component. Only when regular incomes are assured by the Pappad Centre would members be willing to accept the Centre as a focus for social change.

SCHECULE A: PLEDGE FORM

To be filled by ladies joining SHRI MAHILA GRIHA UDYOG LIJJAT PAPPAD (recognised by Khadi & Village Industries Commission)

S. No. _____

I solemnly pledge that I shall voluntarily observe the following rules of our Sarvodaya based Institution 'Shri Mahila Griha Lijjat Pappad'.

1. I shall undertake every job of the Udyog as a divine task and gladly accept whatever reward received by me as consecrated 'Prasadam'.
2. I shall never show any mental poverty. I know that members of our Udyog do not accept any donation or gift. On the contrary they can donate collectively on behalf of the Udyog.
3. I myself or any member of my family shall not make pappads other than that of our Udyog.

4. I shall treat the Udyog as a temple of God and I shall act accordingly.

5. I shall take care that this temple of God is neither harmed by me, nor by anyone else.

6. I shall be able to terminate the services of any salaried or honorary worker.

7. Once a decision is taken regarding the distribution of labour charges or that of extra labour charges, I shall abide by it, until the entire distribution is over.

8. I shall adopt the broader meaning of common ownership. No one in a family counts the number of pan cakes one eats when they sit together for dinner. Similarly I shall also not put that type of calculation while sharing the labour charge or extra labour charge viz. instead of thinking in terms of I should get more than others, I shall aspire that others should not get less than me.

9. I shall roll out at least 3 kg pappads.

10. If, for any reason, I have to leave the Udyog, I shall have no rights or claims against the Udyog, as the temple of God or the Idol therein can never be broken and apportioned.

11. I shall follow all the rules, whether temporary or permanent, which may be laid down from time to time in interest of the Udyog.

Your Sister,

Name

Surname

Address

Date

III-3 Model II: Guidelines for Cotton Handloom Spinning and Weaving Agency

Project: Handloom spinning and weaving

Product: Yard and cotton khadi cloth

Alternate activities:

- (i) Silk weaving
- (ii) Soap making
- (iii) Leather footwear

NOTE: For alternate activities only the organisational structure of the handloom spinning and weaving project is relevant. Details of physical and financial requirements will have to be determined separately for each product group.

The essentials of mobilising dispersed rural workers to produce for the market for a commercially viable project are described here on the basis of a survey of the activities of the Tamil Nadu Sarvodaya Sangh (TNSS) a registered society of handloom and village-industry workers in District Coimbatore, Tamil Nadu. The focus is on identifying the organisational structure, managerial, financial and technical inputs and marketing strategy required for providing mass employment to village industry-workers, especially women, through a self-supporting project. In the present case the product group is cotton Khadi handlooms (spinning and weaving).

STEP 1: LOCATION

The project may be launched in an area in which cotton is one of the major crops, and from which it is at present being exported. For other village industry products, the corresponding raw material should be locally available, e.g. oil-seed crops for oil processing.

The headquarters of the project should be located in a small town in the intensive zone of the cotton-growing belt, within easy reach of spinning and weaving villages in the area. The

project authorities may first, identify the villages that they wish to service, and then group these villages in clusters of six to seven villages on the basis of geographical location or other homogeneous characteristics. Such a grouping helps to divide the project territory into manageable administrative units.

STEP 2: CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

The project would be required to determine its objectives before a suitable constitutional framework is adopted. Derived from the illustration of the TNSS, the proposed project may consider integrating the following in its broad objectives:

- (i) the provision of a stable source of income to the poorest rural women through a home-based production endeavour (or shed-based production system, if preferred by the workers) that is commercially viable and self-generating;
- (ii) the involvement of women-workers in decision-making processes in the enterprise with the final aim of transferring management of the unit to them;
- (iii) upgrading family-health, education and opportunities for advancement;
- (iv) upgrading women's status within the family and community. This may be achieved through non-formal education and awareness or 'conscientising' programmes.

The project may be registered as a society under the Societies Registration Act. The local Registrar of Societies is authorised to register societies. The society can be formed with any number of founder-members (usually the strength of membership is an odd number to facilitate decision-making through voting), who elect a President (or Chairman) and Executive Secretary. The Society is then thrown open to general membership.

Adopting the model of TNSS, the founder-members of the proposed project could be local individuals who expect to be deeply involved with the endeavour in the future. The composition of the nucleus group would include social workers, persons who are committed to the work of rural reconstruction,

technical experts and persons with experience in running commercial enterprises.

The Society would be cooperatively 'owned' by the members and the constitution would be required to ensure that each member has the legal right to participate in all activities undertaken by the group. Membership of the Society may initially be restricted to a professional group—handloom spinners and weavers—and later extended to other groups when the scope of activities is expanded. Membership need not carry a fee, but could pledge the members to loyalty and commitment to the society. All major policy matters should be discussed at General Body meetings of the members. The decision of the majority need not prevail and each member may be constitutionally vested with the power of veto, so that 'interest' groups do not emerge.

The society could also apply for recognition by the K&VIC to avail itself of the benefits of marketing support, technical expertise, etc. that the commission offers to village industry projects. Official links with the State Government are not necessary, though the Society could seek assistance in specific areas such as health, education, etc. It is important for the society to function as an autonomous production-cum-marketing unit.

STEP 3: LINKS WITH OVERHEAD AGENCIES

The proposed society would need to be fostered by a voluntary institution that has a record of service to the rural poor in the area. Such an institution could be identified and approached for professional and staff support. Members of this organisation may be linked closely with the operation of the proposed society so that their work experience serves as an input to the new centre. For TNSS, the overhead agencies were the All India Spinners Association and the Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh.

The local branch of the K&VIC may also be approached for back-up support in the early stages of the Society's activities. The founder-members of the Society are probably already associated with the K&VIC in their capacity as social workers.

STEP 4: ORGANISATION

The proposed society could engage in two 'types' of activities,

i.e. first, income-generating activities through production and sale of cotton handlooms, and, second, 'social awareness' activities, sometimes referred to as 'conscientising activities'. These would be conducted simultaneously and by the same cadre of workers. In accordance with the TNSS model, the economic activities must be so organised that there is maximum decentralisation and self-reliance at every level of functioning. At the same time, the philosophical orientation of the society towards equality and reform must permeate all units of the society.

The following organisational model is suggested for the proposed society:

- (i) Village-level production centres;
- (ii) Regional-level centres for procurement of raw materials and marketing in the local areas
- (iii) Apex organisation for marketing in the State and outside.

(i) At the village level, an Artisans' Society should be formed, with an enrolment of spinning and weaving household. All artisans from each such household would be members of the Artisans' Society.

Norms of membership and/or production capacity may be adopted for Artisans' Societies. If one village falls short of the norms in any respect, artisans from two or three adjacent villages could be encouraged to come together in an Artisan Society. The members would be required to elect a Chairman and Secretary, and these individuals would represent the collective interest of the Artisans' Society. Each such Artisans' Society would constitute a production unit of the proposed society.

The organisers should support each Artisans' Society so as to enable it to provide the following services to member-artisans:

- (a) Regular work orders to spinners and weavers on the basis of piece-rate payment for work done at home or in a work-shed, according to workers' convenience;
- (b) Supply of raw materials of the required quality and quantity;

- (c) Assistance in procuring tools and equipment required by spinners and weavers;
- (d) Mechanical guidance in product design, productivity, maintenance of equipment, etc.
- (e) Minimum package of 'social' services such as medical care, non-formal education in nutrition, hygiene, child-care, and provision of loans for personal requirements such as marriages, house construction, etc.
- (f) Awareness of the administrative and political system governing their lives as citizens, e.g. the police department, the Labour Bureau, Department of Agriculture, the legal system relevant to the requirements of the members, the procedures for the enforcement of laws, etc.;
- (g) Provision of scholarships for higher education or vocational training to a selected number of children from the member-handloom households with the objectives of improving their chances of finding employment in alternative occupations.

Each Artisans' Society would be affiliated to a Regional-level centre.

(ii) A Regional-level centre would service handloom workers from five to seven Artisans' Societies, and would be located in one of the larger villages, preferably a village equipped with electricity.

This Centre would service the constituent village level centres in the following operations.

- (a) Supply of raw materials;
- (b) Retail of khadi handlooms in the local district/area and sales to member spinners and weavers;
- (c) Dispatch of khadi yard goods to headquarters for marketing to wholesale agencies in the State and outside;
- (d) Mobilisation of infrastructural support for handloom workers as, for instance, the supply of essential consumer goods at fair price;
- (e) Maintenance of meticulous accounts for each centre and arranging for their audit.

The Regional Centre would be run by a Managing Committee with an elected Chairman and Secretary. The Committee would consist of the office-bearers of the constituent Artisan Societies, technical experts and social workers. The Committee would be expected to meet once a month to review the progress and to formulate production, marketing and sales plans.

The number of Regional Centres to be established will be determined by the scale of operations. As a rough approximation, a Regional Centre might have an annual production turnover of Rs 5-10 lakhs, with a total membership of 150 handloom households.

The operations of the Regional Centres would be coordinated by the central office of the Society at its headquarters.

(iii) The apex body of the society would function from headquarters in the mofussil town, and service the Regional Centres and Artisans' Societies in the following respects:

- (a) the coordination of production in the constituent Regional Centres and through them, the Artisans' Societies;
- (b) Marketing of Khadi yard goods to wholesalers within the State and outside;
- (c) liaison with official and non-official agencies such as Khadi and Village Industries Commission; the Departments of Health, education and small industries in the State Department; commercial banks; voluntary institutions, etc.

The operations of the central organisation at headquarters would be determined by an apex body or Executive Committee, that would include representatives of the Regional Centres (Chairman and Secretary), social workers, technical experts, and representatives of the Panchayat Societies or Zila Parishads.

The exact composition of the Executive Committee would be determined by the local conditions, especially with respect to official policy governing the development of handlooms through workers cooperatives. The Executive Committee would have a minimum representation of 50 per cent artisan-members.

The Executive Committee would elect office-bearers, i.e. Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer for a one-year term of office

There would, however, be no bar on office-holders seeking re-election. The dedication of members of the apex body of TNSS in Tiruppur has justified their repeated re-election, and has also ensured continuity in the organisation.

At each stratum of the proposed Handloom Worker's Society there should be a genuine commitment to decentralisation, and the higher-order stratum would operate with the ultimate objective of 'withering away'.

STEP 5: PERSONNEL

A cadre of professional workers would be required at each stratum of the proposed three-tier organisational structure of the Handloom Worker's society. The professional team, who would be paid workers, would implement the programmes formulated by the artisans and their representatives.

Professional competence should be the only criterion of appointment to the posts described below. A bias towards local persons should not be indulged unless the local candidates possess the necessary qualifications.

The staff members should be encouraged to move between different strata of the proposed Handloom Workers' Society, and should also be rotated within a stratum to ensure that their experience becomes broad-based, and that vested interests do not develop. Staff workers should be conscious of the fact that member artisans are their employers.

STEP 6: DAY-TO-DAY FUNCTIONING

The statement of responsibilities of different staff members in step 4 has already provided an indication of the nature of operations of the proposed Handloom Workers' Society. Briefly, the operations at each of the three strata of the organisation structure are described below.

Village Production Centre: The enrolled artisans would be supplied with work orders and matching raw materials once a week (or more frequently). In villages with both spinning and weaving artisans, women are generally the spinners and men the weavers, and both groups of artisans often work at home. Five to seven spinners who spin in a fairly homogenous range could be attached to one weaver, and this micro production-group could visit the Centre on appointed days. The manager

Handloom Workers' Society: Suggested professional cadre and staff responsibilities

1. Village Production Centre
2. Regional Centre
3. Headquarters

Degination (1)	No. of employees (2)	Necessary qualifications (3)	Responsibility (4)	Suggested monthly salary (Rs/month) (5)
1. VILLAGE PRODUCTION CENTRE (ARTISANS SOCIETY)				
(a) Manager (male/female)	One	Familiarity with technical aspects of handloom manufacture, commercial aspects of running a production unit, and commitment to women's welfare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) Enrolment of artisans and personal contact with each member (ii) Distribution of raw materials to artisans (iii) Collection & scrutiny of yarn and cloth (iv) Payments to artisan-members (v) Liason with Regional Centre for supply of raw materials (vi) Dispatch of finished products of Regional Centres (vii) Organisation of regular programmes on health, political and administrative systems, legal rights and obligations (viii) Processing of members' needs in regard to health, education, etc. 	500
(a) Manager (male/female)	One	Familiarity with technical aspects of handloom manufacture, commercial aspects of running a production unit, and commitment to women's welfare		

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
(b) Master Craftsman (Weaving)	One	Experience in weaving on modern looms	<p>(ix) Identification and processing of felt needs of women</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) Scrutiny of yarn (ii) Distribution of yarn to weavers according to specifications (iii) Scrutiny of woven cloths (iv) Training of weavers in modern methods of weaving (v) Introduction of new design and products (vi) Supervision of shed-production if any 	350
(c) Pre-processing expert (male/female)	One	Experience in pre-weaving processes & spinning on Ambar Charkha and NMC Charkha (6 & 12 spindles)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) Preliminary processing and grading of raw cotton (ii) Distribution of raw cotton to spinners according to specification (iii) Training in spinning on the Ambar & NMC Charkhas (iv) Supervision of shed-production 	300
(d) Accountant (male/female)	One	Experience in book-keeping and accounts (professional qualifications are not necessary)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) Maintenance of records of raw material inflow and dispatch of yard goods to Regional Centre 	250

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
(e) women's extension worker : (Female)	One	Experience in community work with women, e.g. former Gram Sevika/ School Teacher/active member of a local women's organisation/unofficial community leader, etc.	<p>(ii) Cash payment to handloom workers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (iii) Maintenance of accounts (i) Enrolment of women handloom workers (ii) Encouraging women members participation in activities of the Arisans' Society including election to Managing Committee, etc (iii) Ensuring women's participation in training in improved methods of production by identifying & resolving the problems that restrict participation (iv) Identification of women's felt needs by encouraging members to articulate their day-to-day problems (v) Formulating a low cost scheme for resolving problems revealed in (iv) and assisting the Manager to liaise with local official agencies for assistance 	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
2, REGIONAL CENTRE (a) Manager	One	Graduate or technical specialist, familiarity with local administrative structure; experience in retail, and wholesale marketing; experience in management of cooperatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) Purchase of raw materials from local sources (ii) Formulation of production plans of constituent Artisans Societies (iii) Marketing of khadi yard goods through local retail points (iv) Despatch of residual production to headquarters (v) Provision of adequate quantities of essential consumer goods to constituent Artisans, Societies (vi) Liaison with local official agencies (i) Scrutiny of accounts of constituent Artisans Society (ii) Audit of accounts (iii) Maintenance of records, receipt of goods from each Artisan Society and payment on the basis of actual sales 	500–600 400
(b) Accountant	One	Commerce graduate with experience of work in cooperatives		

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
(c) Store Supervisor	One	High school education	(i) Stocking of raw materials and finished goods in a manner that ensures protection against deterioration (ii) Maintenance of records of stocks of raw materials and finished goods	250
(d) Attendants	Two	Functional literacy	(i) Assistance to stores-keepers (ii) Assistance to pre-processing expert (iii) General maintenance of the premises	
3. HEADQUARTERS				
(a) Secretary*	One	Experience in managing workers societies and commercial ventures; familiarity with all technical aspects of handloom manufacture; knowledge of institutions and government departments dealing with handlooms	(i) Marketing of khadi yard goods through wholesale channels such as the K&VIC and private traders (ii) Payment to Artisans Societies through Regional Centres (iii) Introduction of technical innovations in product design and equipment	700

*Secretary would be elected by the Executive Committee, and be the single salaried member of the committee.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
(b) Accountant	One	Commerce graduate		through liaison with K&VIC, etc	
				(iv) Assistance to Regional Centres and Artisans' Soci- eties in obtaining commer- cial bank credit	
				(v) Orienting programmes of regional centres and Arti- sans Societies to cater for felt needs of women-artisans	
				(i) Maintenance of records of sales of khadi yarn goods	500
				(ii) Payment to Artisans Soci- ties through Regional Centres	
				(iii) Maintenance of consoli- dated audited accounts of the society, i.e. all Regional Centres (and their consti- uent Artisans' Societies)	
					200
(c) Store-keeper	One	The qualifications and responsibil- ities are similar to those suggested for the store-keeper at the Regional Centre			150
(d) Attendant	Two				—do—

and master craftsman would scrutinise the yarn produced by the spinners and the cloth produced by the weaver, and would compute payments to the workers on the basis of the quality of the products. The next work order and raw materials would also be provided at this meeting.

Each member-artisan would be encouraged to deposit a small sum on the savings account through a voluntary deduction in spinning or weaving charges. The manager would be required to make herself/himself available to discuss other needs of members, e.g. medical care, personal loans, etc. and to arrange for assistance within the Centre's resources.

The Centre would also cater for local sales in the village, including sales to spinner households. Once a week the residual production would be dispatched to the Regional Centre. Raw material supplies would be obtained from the Regional Centre once a fortnight or once a month. The raw cotton, that would have undergone preliminary grading operations at the Regional Centre, would be reprocessed at the village production centre by the preprocessing expert and other staff members.

Meetings of the member-artisans should be held at regular intervals, at least once a month. The staff members, particularly the woman-extension worker, would be required to publicise the coming event to ensure maximum attendance. In the early phases staff would have to attend to all aspects of the meetings—venue, agenda, etc.—so that members' interest is stimulated and sustained.

2. *The Regional Centre* should function as a central collection 'depot' for finished goods, and a distribution point for raw materials to Artisan Societies. The Regional Centre would obtain raw cotton directly from cotton growers or through agents associated with K&VIC. They could also appoint their own dealers for raw material supplies. After preliminary cleaning and grading the raw cotton would be dispatched to constituent Artisans' Societies according to their requirements. All raw material supplies to Artisans' Societies would be made against payments.

For marketing of khadi yard goods, each Regional Centre would be allotted marketing territories by the headquarters, and would be expected to establish retail outlets to maximise sales in its territory. The residual khadi production would be dispatched to headquarters.

The Regional Centres would route financial assistance (e.g. working capital loans, or capital loans for expansion) from headquarters to Artisans' Societies. They could also mobilise financial assistance from local agencies such as cooperative banks for the Artisans' Societies.

The Managing Committee of the Regional Centre would meet once in two months to review the performance of the Artisan Societies as well as sales turnover at the regional level.

3. The main function of the central organisation at *headquarters* would be to ensure a steady and expanding market for the products of the member-artisans. In the early stages, the marketing division at the Central Headquarters could establish contact only with wholesalers, and wholesale purchasing institutions such as the K&VIC. Orders from wholesale customers are less likely to fluctuate. The attempt should be to adopt a streamlined marketing strategy so that there is a quick turnaround of production, and stockpiling is avoided. Commission agents could also be appointed outside the State with a view to entering private trade in khadi sales.

The orientation of the Handloom Workers' Society towards an all-round improvement in artisans' life would also have to emanate from the apex body of the Society. The Executive Committee would be expected to harness infrastructural facilities for artisans and to disseminate information to artisans about the facilities available to them in the field of medical care, education, credit for starting cottage industries, loans for construction of houses, acquisition of homestead lands, etc. This would be an important back-up service to the artisan-members.

Women handloom workers, who have generally operated in isolation from the mainstream of handloom projects, would have to be consciously integrated in all programmes of the proposed Handloom Society. The apex body would have to be in constant touch with women-extension workers at village production centres to formulate a dynamic policy for women-member-artisans on the basis of feed work from the field. The aim of such a policy would not be to create an artificial distinction between men and women member artisans, but to respond to the felt needs of women, as workers and as family members.

STEP 7: FINANCIAL AND PHYSICAL RESOURCES

The financial requirements of an organisation such as the proposed Handloom Workers' Society can be specified only with reference to the scale of operations, the artisan membership, and the preferred choice of equipment, e.g. modern or traditional Charkhas. These parameters vary in different situations, and an estimate of the financial requirements would have to be based on real life situations. A model scheme for employing 66 spinners and 23 weavers, using NMC Charkhas and semi-automatic loom is provided in Schedule B.

The K&VIC is the major source of finance for units engaged in khadi and village industry products. As stated elsewhere in this Report, the K&VIC extends interest-free working capital loans to the extent of 147 per cent of the value of production, and capital loans to the extent of 100 per cent of requirements for the purchase of equipment and construction of buildings. The proposed Handloom Workers' Society could approach the K&VIC for financial assistance through the local office of the Commission. Other lending institutions for handloom at the District and State levels include cooperative banks and lead banks in the area.

SCHEDULE B—FINANCIAL AND PHYSICAL REQUIREMENT OF A SPINNING CUM-WEAVING UNIT

Model Scheme for New Model Charkha Programme (Six spindle) composite unit

DETAILS OF THE SCHEME

- (i) No. of working days: 250 days in a year @ eight hours per day, i.e. 2,000 hours
- (ii) Capacity of production: Yarn-2,00,000 (33 counts) hanks @ 800 hanks per day for 250 days. Cloth 40,000 sq. mtrs.
- (iii) Employment opportunity : Spinning— $50+16=66$ persons Weaving— $10+13=23$ persons
Adm. —6 persons
- (vi) Working space : Spinning—4,000 sq. ft.
Weaving—2,000 sq. ft.

Investment**I. LAND & BUILDING****A. Spinning**

(i) For installation of 50 charkhas
 @ 5' x 4', i.e. 20 sq. ft. for each
 charkha, i.e. 1,000 sq. ft.

(ii) *For pre-processing*
 $15' \times 15' = 225$ sq. ft. for each
 unit, i.e. for two units-450 sq.
 ft.

(iii) *For store*
 $15' \times 10' = 150$ sq. ft. for each
 unit, i.e. for two units—300
 sq. ft.

(iv) *For office*
 300 sq. ft.

(v) *For Miscellaneous use*
 300 sq. ft.

(vi) *Well, lavatory and open space*
 1,650 sq. ft.
 Total—4,000 sq. ft.

Rate of lane: @ Re 1 per sq. ft.
 for 4,000 sq. ft. 4000

Rs. 4,000

For construction Rs. 47,000

Rs. 47,000

Cost for 2,350 sq. ft. @ Rs.
 20/- per sq. ft.

For well, lavatory, rest from:

Rs. 9,000

Rs. 60,000

B. Weaving Unit

(i) For installation of 100 looms
 $20' \times 50' = 1,000$ sq. ft.

(ii) Weaving pre-processing $25' \times 30'$
 $= 750$ sq. ft.

(iii) Stores: $20' \times 10' = 200$ sq. ft.

(iv) For urinal, etc. 50 sq. ft.

Total 2,000 sq. ft. inclusive of
 land and shed @ Rs. 25/- per
 sq. ft. Rs. 50,000.

Total cost on land and building (A+B)	A. Rs. 60,000 B. Rs. 50,000
	Rs. 110,000

II. MACHINERY AND EQUIPMENT

A. Spinning Unit (two units)

(i) 50 New Model Charkha @ Rs. 700 per charkha	Rs. 35,000
(ii) Pre-processing unit consisting of baster machine, carding ma- chine and drawing machine with 1 HP Motor	Rs. 13,000
(iii) Four spindle roving frame flayer system hand operated	Rs. 6,000
(iv) Tool box and spares, etc.	Rs. 4,000
(v) Transport, erection, installa- tion, etc.	Rs. 2,000
Total A:	Rs. 60,000

B. Weaving Unit

(i) Semi-automatic looms @ Rs. 2,500 each for ten looms	Rs. 25,000
(ii) Weaving pre-processing machines	
(a) Sizing machine—one	Rs. 20,000
(b) Warping machine—one	Rs. 6,000
(c) Can winding machine—one	Rs. 500
(d) Creel stand with bobbins	Rs. 2,500
(e) Pan winding charkha, transport installation, etc.	Rs. 5,000
(f) Extra warp beams @ Rs. 150 per beam for 10 beams	Rs. 1,500
(g) Reed, healds, shuttles, etc.	Rs. 2,000
(h) 3 HP Motor (One)	Rs. 1,500
Total B:	Rs. 64,000

Total A+B=(Rs. 60,000+Rs. 64,000) Rs. 1,24,000

III. RAW MATERIAL**A. Spinning**

Cotton for 800 hanks (33 counts) per day for 250 days, i.e. for 200,000 hanks @ 26.4 kg cotton per day, i.e. 6,000 kg 1 per cent wastage 6,666 kg @ Rs. 10	Rs. 66,660
B. Weaving—2,00,000 hanks	Rs. 1,76,190

IV. SALARY AND WAGES**A. Spinning**

(i) Opener (one person) @ Rs. 3 per day for 250 days	Rs. 750
(ii) Pre-draw frame (two persons) 26.4 kg @ Rs. 0.20 Rs. 5.28 per day for 250 days	Rs. 2,640
(iii) Carding (two persons) 26.4 kg x Rs. 0.20 Rs. 5.28 per day for 250 days	Rs. 2,640
(iv) Draw Frame (two persons) 25 kg x Rs. 0.20 Rs. 5 per day for 250 days	Rs. 2,500
(v) Flayer (Eight persons) 25 kg x Rs. 0.20 Rs. 5 per day for 250 days	Rs. 10,000
(vi) Spinners (50) Rs. 0.20 per hank for 800 hanks	Rs. 40,000
Rs. 160 per day for 250 days	
	Total A:
	Rs. 58,530

B. Weaving

(i) 10 Weavers @ Rs. 6 each per day for 250 days	Rs. 15,000
(ii) Sizing machine (one person) @ Rs. 5 per day for 250 days	Rs. 1,250
(iii) Warping machine (one person) @ Rs. 5 per day for 250 days	Rs. 1,250

(iv) Can winding (one person) @ Rs. 4 per day for 250 days	Rs. 1,000
(v) Pan winding (10 persons) @ Rs. 3/- each per day for 250 days	Rs. 7,500
Total B:	Rs. 26,000

C. Managerial staff for spinning and weaving

(i) Manager (one @ Rs. 300 per month)	Rs. 3,600
(ii) Two supervisor-cum-mechanics @ Rs. 250/- per month	Rs. 6,000
(iii) One weaving supervisor-cum- mechanic	Rs. 3,000
(iv) One accountant @ Rs. 300 per month	Rs. 3,600
(v) One assistant @ Rs. 150 per month	Rs. 1,800
	Rs. 18,000

V. INDIRECT EXPENSES

A. Spinning

(i) Electricity eight units per day for 250 days, i.e. 2,000 units @ Rs. 0.30 per unit	Rs. 600
(ii) Repairs and maintenance, lub- rication, etc. @ one paise per hank or Rs. 8 Per day (for 800 hanks) for 250 days	Rs. 2,000
(iii) Spare parts, etc. Rs. 40 per charkha per year for 50 char- khas including pre-processing	Rs. 2,000
(iv) Printing and stationery	Rs. 1,000
(v) T.A., etc.	Rs. 600
Total A:	Rs. 6,200
	Rs. 6,200

B. Weaving

	Total A+B	Rs. 12,400
VI. DEPRECIATION @ 10%		
A. Spinning		
On capital expenditure of Rs.		
1,16,000		Rs. 11,600
B. Weaving		
One capital expenditure of Rs.		
1,12,000		Rs. 11,200
	Total A+B	Rs. 22,800
VII. INTEREST @ 12% on		
A. Spinning		
(i) Capital expenditure		
Rs. 1,20,000, i.e. Rs. 14,400		
B. Weaving		
Rs. 1,14,000, i.e. Rs. 13,680		
		Rs. 28,080
(ii) Working capital		
A. Spinning (Rs. 72,000)		Rs. 8,640
B. Weaving (Rs. 87,000)		Rs. 10,440
VIII. INSURANCE @ 1%		
A. Spinning (Rs. 1,16,000)		Rs. 1,160
B. Weaving (Rs. 1,12,000)		Rs. 1,120
	Total A+B	Rs. 2,280
COST OF PRODUCTION (YARN) SPINNING		
(i) Raw material		Rs. 66,660
(ii) Salary and wages Rs. 58,530 +		
Rs. 9,000		
(of the total managerial exp.)		Rs. 67,530
(iii) Indirect expenses		Rs. 6,200
(iv) Depreciation		Rs. 11,600

(v) Interest	Rs. 23,040
(vi) Interest	Rs. 1,160
Total :	Rs. 1,76,190

Total sale proceeds for 2,00,000 hanks
@ Re. 0.88 per hank, Rs. 1,76,190

REQUIREMENT OF FUNDS

A. *Spinning*

(i) Capital expenditure	Rs. 1,20,000
(ii) Weaving	Rs. 1,14,000

B. *Working Capital*

(i) Spinning	Rs. 72,000
(ii) Weaving	Rs. 87,000

COST OF PRODUCTION (CLOTH)

(i) Raw material	Rs. 1,76,190
(ii) Salary and wages	Rs. 35,000
(iii) Indirect expenses	Rs. 6,200
(iv) Depreciation	Rs. 11,200
(v) Interest	Rs. 24,120
(vi) Insurance	Rs. 1,120

Total: Rs. 2,53,830

Cost of 40,000 sq. metres of cloth will be Rs. 2,53,830 or
Rs. 6.35 per metre ex-factory cost of production

NOTE: Though the capacity of each New Model Charkha is to produce 20 hanks per day and it can work for 300 days a year, the maximum production may be $20 \times 5 + 300 = 1,50,000$ hanks per unit but from past experience the average production is taken into account while calculating the annual production of hanks and number of working days.

Special Note: The element of interest (both capital expenditure and working capital) in the cost of production of both yarn and cloth comes to Rs. 23,040 and Rs. 24,120 respectively, making a total of Rs. 47,160. If eliminated, the ex-factory cost of 40,000 sq. metres of cloth will be Rs. 2,06,670 or Rs. 5.16 per metre.

III—4 Model III: Guidelines for Woollen Handloom Spinning and Weaving Agency

Project: Weaving of woollen handlooms

Product: Woollen handlooms

A model project for providing employment to woollen handloom weaver households is provided in this section. The scheme is based on a survey of the operations of the Khadi Dastakar Anjuman (KDA), a registered society of Pampore in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K). The essence of the Anjuman's operations is the formulation of a system whereby isolated and remote weaver households in rural Kashmir can produce woollen handlooms for the market and earn a regular wage. KDA has provided three basic services to the weaver households, namely, the supply of raw materials, technical finishing of the weavers' production and the assurance of a market. The KDA has not disturbed the existing pattern of home-based production in which the entire family works as a production unit.

STEP 1: LOCATION

By virtue of the raw material requirement of wool, a woollen handloom project will have to be located in a sheep-breeding area or areas where the cheap supply of wool is available. Several hilly rural areas of the Himalayan and Shivalik ranges would qualify as potential project sites. Villages where spinning and weaving are commonly practised, either for self-use or sale, could be included in the project 'territory'.

STEP 2: IDENTIFICATION OF TARGET GROUP OF WORKERS

The proposed scheme is oriented towards providing employment for the whole household since weaving is a family enterprise in most parts of India. Following the identification of the spinning and weaving villages in the proposed area of operation, packets of craft intensity would have to be identified in each village, i.e. households that derive their income predominantly from the craft would have to be identified. These households would represent the most vulnerable group of handloom-workers.

in the village because of their strong dependence on income from handloom-weaving.

Thus agriculture households where the major source of income is agriculture/training/professional service, etc. would not qualify for inclusion in the project in its early phases. Similarly households with a seasonal migratory pattern (nomadic ethnic groups) should not be included since they would constitute an impermanent labour force.

A survey of the target group of households would have to be conducted to determine their level of skill, their availability of time, the expected remuneration and the existing equipment. This information would show the potential of the weaver-household for engaging in the project activity, by revealing the exact nature of unemployment or underemployment. This survey should also canvass women-handloom workers about facilities they require for participating fully in the project. For instance, women may be asked their views on the participation of children in the pre-weaving process for five to seven hours a day. If children ordinarily supplement their mothers' work, then clearly there is a case for upgrading the woman's productivity so that children may be released for schooling. Alternatively women may require relief from such time-consuming chores as collecting fuel, cooking, etc.

STEP 3: LINKS WITH OVERHEAD AGENCIES

There are several official and non-official bodies servicing woollen khadi in the hilly areas; the Khadi and Village Industries Commission (K&VIC) is prominent among them. The proposed woollen handloom production-cum-marketing organisation should establish links with K&VIC and a local agency which has implemented programmes of community development successfully.

The basic objective of linking up the new organisation with the overhead agencies is to enable it to share their cumulative experience in initiating a commercially viable project marketing, technical know-how, relationship with handloom workers and servicing the most urgent requirements of the workers.

The overhead agencies could depute a small team, including at least one woman, to assist the proposed organisation in the first few months of its establishment. This team could assist with formalities of registration; identification of sources of raw mate-

rial supply; orienting handloom workers' production towards the market; ensuring commercial viability through appropriate pricing; special needs of women workers, etc.

STEP 4: CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

Based on the KDA model, the proposed organisation may be a registered society. The society should seek recognition by the Khadi and Village Industries Commission (K&VIC). The executive authority of the Society may vest in a Governing Body that comprises founder-members, social workers, technical experts, representatives of K&VIC, lead banks, etc.

The following objectives may be adopted by the proposed Society:

- (i) Provision of regular employment to registered handloom worker households in home-based or shed-based production throughout the year by 'putting out' contract work and supplying raw materials;
- (ii) Assisting in the supply of tools and equipment in pursuance of above;
- (iii) Maintaining commercial viability in operations, so that the organisation is self-generating;
- (iv) Providing infrastructural support to the 'handloom household', particularly to women-workers, to strengthen their participation in handloom activities.

In regard to workers' participation in the management of the proposed organisation, a reservation may be noted. The survey of KDA revealed that spinners and weavers are not involved in management, and in fact they function as labour on "job contract" for the Anjuman. The workers are free to take 'jobs' on a contractual basis with any other agency or private trader. Whereas this may run counter to the objective of workers' participation, it appears to have served the KDA well in its first decade of existence. The organisers have concentrated on providing steady employment to isolated groups of handloom workers while maintaining commercial viability. In the next phase, the KDA could introduce the concept of self-management. The focus on one objective at a time is likely to help the Anjuman to achieve its final goal, that is, the socio-economic strengthening of poor rural handloom-workers.

From the point of view of women-family workers, another important consideration must be borne in mind. Women in isolated mountainous pockets of the country, specially women of traditional conservative ethnic groups such as the Muslims, live by custom a life of social seclusion. If the concept of workers' participation is introduced without a fairly long-period of preparatory orientation work with the community, it is possible that only the male heads of households will reach for the offer of self-management. This may prove to be a retrograde step for women.

Therefore it is recommended that the proposed society should initially gear itself to provide a steady income to the maximum number of artisans through an efficient organisational structure.

STEP 5: ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

The organisational structure to be adopted by the proposed Society must be devised to maximise the value added by the Artisans, as well as to maximise the marketability of the products through technically competent finishing processes. The three-tier organisational structure adopted by KDA has been found most suitable for the purpose.

The proposed Society might adopt a two or three-tier structure, comprising.

- (i) Production Centres at village level;
- (ii) Finishing Centres at regional level; and
- (iii) Marketing Centre at apex level.

(i) Production Centres could be located in villages with a concentration of spinners and weavers, and a bias towards remote villages in the interior. These Centres would register spinners and weavers and 'put out' work to them. One production Centre could service four to five adjacent villages, and should have an artisan registration in the range of 20-50 members. Arrangements could also be made at some Centres for shed-production to enable artisans without proper equipment to earn an income, and also to enable artisans to produce high quality woollen products on modern equipment installed by the Society. The entire production of the Production Centre would be dispatched to the Processing Centre.

The value added by the handloom workers should be maintained at the highest possible level. The survey of KDA showed that value added by weaver households is 7 per cent for products such as lois, 6 to 7 per cent in tweeds, whereas in mufflers and shawls it is 16 per cent and 12 per cent respectively.

(ii) Each Processing Centre would service four to five Production Centres. Facilities for processing of raw material as well as finished khadi yard goods (received from the Production Centres) would be available at the Processing Centre. At the processing and finishing stage a significant value element is added. At the KDA processing Centres, the value added on tweeds and shawls of Kashmir wool is 10 per cent and 7 per cent when merino wool is used. Similarly, in mufflers of indigenous wool the value added at the finishing stage is 13 per cent, and 9 per cent for merino wool. Schedule C provides value added in *Kashmir Dastkar Anjuman* by weavers and finishing-cum-marketing agency.

The finished' goods would be dispatched from the Processing Centre to the Marketing Centre at headquarters, with a certain amount reserved for re-dispatch to the constituent Production Centres for local sales.

(iii) The Marketing Centre at headquarters would cater for wholesales sales within the State and to other parts of India. It would also be responsible for product innovation, pricing policy, determination of wages, provision of medical care/insurance cover, etc. to the workers.

STEP 6: PERSONNEL

The success of the proposed society would be determined largely by the ability of the professional staff to implement the policies of the Governing Body to the Society.

On the basis of the KDA staff model, professional staff requirements at each stratum of the proposed Society are presented in the chart.

The salary scale of each staff post may have to be determined with reference to prevailing pay scales of official or semi-official institutions operating in the area. The distribution of the staff between males and females would again be dependent on local tradition of women's participation in 'administration'. However, the woman extension worker must naturally be a woman, preferably a local person who has a record of professional or social

Suggested professional cadre of workers in the proposed Society for Woollen Handloom Production

Designation (1)	No. of employees (2)	Qualification (3)	Responsibility (4)
1. PRODUCTION CENTRE (VILLAGE LEVEL)			
Manager	One	Technical expertise in woollen handloom production, knowledge of accounts; experience in managing village-based units; minimum of high school education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) Distribution of work orders to registered handloom workers (ii) Payment to workers (iii) Dispatch of semi-finished yard goods to processing Centre (iv) Local sales of finished woollen yard goods (v) Maintenance of record of earnings and compulsory savings of each worker (vi) Maintenance of accounts (i) Trading of raw wool (ii) Distribution of raw wool to spinners and yarn to weavers (iii) Maintenance of a record of (ii) (iv) Scrutiny of yarn and cloth submitted by Artisans (v) Maintenance of record of (iv) (i) Assistance to spinning and weaving master
Spinning and Weaving Master (Woollen Handloom)	One	Technical expertise in spinning and weaving using both traditional and modern equipment; high school education	Functional literary
Store-keeper-cum-Attendant	One		

COMMUNITY HEALTH CELL
326, V Main, I Block
Koramangala
Bangalore-560034

India

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(ii) Maintenance of premises			
2. PROCESSING CENTRE (REGIONAL LEVEL)			
Manager	One		
		Technical expertise in processing of raw wool, and finishing or woollen yard goods; experience in marketing of handlooms; minimum of high school education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) Formulation of production programme of constituent production Centres (ii) Procurement of raw wool (iii) Distribution of processed raw wool to Production Centres (iv) Marketing of finished yard goods in local area (v) Dispatch of yard goods to marketing centre
Filishing staff	Four or Five	Competence in pre-processes and finishing processes, viz. Processing or raw wool: Dusting, Carding	Processing of raw wool and finishing of semi-finished yard goods
Woman Eatension Worker	One	Finishing process: Milling, washing, pressing, calendering, ironing Knowledge of handloom operations; experience in working with women's institutions; leadership qualities; middle school education; willingness to travel since the Woman Extension Worker would	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) Identification of technical/ professional problems faced by women and children in practising the craft in the constituent Production Centres

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Accountant	One	Experience in audit and accounts (professional degree may not be necessary)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (ii) Identification of felt needs of women and children (iii) Identification of most suitable means to service the needs (iv) Liaison with the Manager in providing the felt needs through means revealed in <p>(iii)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) Maintenance of record of dispatch of raw materials and receipt for finished goods from each Production Centre (ii) Maintenance of accounts of each production centre (iii) Maintenance of record of dispatch to Marketing Division and receipts from it <p>The qualifications and responsibilities of the attendant-cum-storekeeper at the Production Centre would apply in this case, too.</p>
Attendant-cum-Storekeeper	Two		
3. MARKETING CENTRE (HEADQUARTERS)	One		<p>(i) Coordination and review of operation of Processing Societies</p> <p>Experience in organising and managing cooperative societies; familiarity with manufacture of woollen hand-</p>

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Marketing Manager	One	<p>Experience in marketing handlooms; knowledge of pattern of grade in woollens in the rest of the country; knowledge of publicity management; college education</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) Supervision of wholesale marketing Liaison with K&VIC and other funding agencies to channelise financial assistance to Processing Centres (iv) Product innovation through liaison with designing institutes (v) Formulation of programmes of direct assistance to women and child artisans <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) Identification of wholesale markets for woollen products within the State and outside (ii) Formulation of suitable marketing strategy to capture markets revealed in (i) (iii) Supervision of performance of sales and commission agents
Sales assistants or commission agents	To be determined by the marketing	Knowledge of trade in handlooms and sales experience	Sale of private and semi-official agencies

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Accountant	turnover One	Professional degree in auditing and accounts	(i) Maintenance of records of sales (ii) Maintenance of consolidated accounts of the society
Attendant-cum-store- keeper	To be deter- mined by the marketing turnover	The qualifications and responsibilities of the Attendant-cum-storekeeper at the Processing Centre would apply in this case too	

service in the area. For other staff posts, local person may be engaged only when found technically proficient.

STEP 7: DAY-TO-DAY FUNCTIONING

The proposed organisation would work on the basis of the 'dispersed factory' or 'putting out' system with intermediate technical processing.

(i) The major functions of the Village Production Centre would be:

- distribution of work orders and raw materials to all registered handloom workers with an attempt to provide as much work as a worker wishes to undertake;
- payment to workers on a piece-rate basis;
- dispatch of semi-finished yard goods to the processing Centre;
- sale of finished yard goods to spinners and weavers, and the rest of the local population;
- provision of minimum health and insurance cover to registered artisans.

(ii) The functions of the Processing Centre would be:

- procurement of raw wool from local sheep breeders and other sources;
- dusting, carding, grading, etc. of the raw wool and its dispatch to Village Production Centres;
- formulation of production programmes for Village Production Centres;
- finishing of semi-finished woollen yarn goods;
- dispatch of finished goods to Village Production Centres;
- local retail sales of finished goods;
- dispatch of finished goods to Marketing Centre at headquarters;
- account-keeping for constituent Production Centres.

(iii) The functions of the coordination-cum-marketing centre at headquarters are:

- Coordination of activities of Processing Centre;

- Marketing of finished woollen yarn goods to wholesale agencies within the State and other parts of the country;
- Liaison with K&VIC and other lending institutions for supplying credit to Processing Centres and Village Production Centres;
- Maintenance of consolidated accounts of the society;
- Innovation in product design;
- Determination of pricing policy and wages rates;
- Mobilising infrastructural support at the district state level to provide minimum health care, insurance cover, etc. to the artisans.

STEP 8: FINANCIAL AND PHYSICAL RESOURCES

The K&VIC is the premier funding institution in the country for units engaged in handloom production or village industries.

The proposed society could approach K&VIC for financial assistance both for capital investment (interest-free loans upto 100 per cent of the requirement is granted by K&VIC), and working capital requirements (interest-free loan up to 147 per cent of the value of annual production is granted by K&VIC).

Financial self-sufficiency should be attempted at each stratum of the proposed Society. It is suggested that at each level of the organisational structure there should be a mark-up of 6-7 per cent to cover operating costs and to allow for a small net profit. Profits would be expected to be recycled into the Society to finance expansion. Decisions on expansion would have to be taken at the level of headquarters to ensure coordination in expansion at all levels of the organisation.

The requirements of the proposed society in land and buildings, equipment, etc. are likely to be determined by the scale of operations. Schedule C provides a brief check-list of the requirements of raw wool and equipment to provide employment to 80 artisan households. Schedule D sets out the basic raw material and equipment requirement of a weaving household.

STEP 9: MARKETING

The marketing strategy adopted by the proposed Society is likely to be a crucial determinant of commercial success. The survey of KDA shows that local sales must be maximised. Since the market for woollens is limited to areas with a cold climate,

an optimal marketing policy could seek to corner a bulk of the sales in the neighbourhood, while simultaneously probing markets in other 'cold areas' of the country. Foreign markets might also be investigated, though this might call for significant changes in product design and quality.

Two types of marketing channels could be used by the proposed Society, i.e. direct sales to wholesale official purchasing agencies (e.g. K&VIC and emporia of various state governments) and sales through commission agents to semi-official and private traders. The combination of direct wholesale sales to bulk purchasing agencies and retail/wholesale sales through commission agents is likely to capture a larger market for the Society.

SCHEDULE C: VALUE ADDED IN WEAVING BY WEAVERS AND MARKETING AGENCY
 (in Rupees)

Zone/Products (1)	Inputs (raw material and dyeing (2)	Value added by weavers (3)	Value added by marketing agency (4)	Output value (5)
A. Pampore				
<i>Tweed</i>	844279 (83.7)	63402 (6.3)	100853 (10.0)	1008534 (100.0)
Kashmiri	835170 (86.9)	58920 (6.1)	67297 (7.0)	961387 (100.0)
<i>Shawls</i>				
Kashmiri	1092 (73.8)	240 (16.2)	148 (10.0)	1489 (100.0)
Merino	51788 (76.0)	10856 (16.0)	5447 (8.0)	68091 (100.0)
<i>Muffler</i>				
Kashmiri	93835 (75.4)	14428 (11.6)	16177 (13.0)	124440 (100.0)
Merino	22713 (79.2)	3376 (11.8)	2580 (9.0)	28669 (100.0)
<i>Lois</i>				
Kashmiri	209825 (83.1)	42565 (16.9)	—	252400 (100.0)
Sub-Total	2058702 (84.2)	193787 (7.9)	192502 (7.9)	2445001 (100.0)
B. Chadura				
<i>Tweed</i>	135100 (83.5)	10563 (6.5)	16185 (10.0)	161848 (100.0)
Kashmiri	53025 (87.0)	3695 (6.0)	4269 (7.0)	60989 (100.0)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<i>Lois</i>				
Kashmiri	165960 (85.5)	28256 (14.5)	—	194215 (100.0)
<i>Sub-Total</i>	354085 (85.0)	42514 (10.2)	20454 (8.2)	417052 (100.0)
Grand-Total:	2412787 (84.3)	236301 (8.3)	212956 (7.4)	2862053 (100.0)

Figures in brackets are percentages

SOURCE: Field Survey at Khadi Dastkar Anjuman

SCHEDULE D: INITIAL RAW MATERIAL AND EQUIPMENT REQUIREMENT OF PROPOSED PROJECT AGENCY

(a) Making of yarn

- (i) Procurement of raw-wool stock to be held on the basis of 22 kg per household.
80 households, 4 months requirements $80 \times 22 \times 4 = 7040$ kg
Approx. value=Rs. 2.82 lakhs, say Rs. 3.00 lakhs
- (ii) Combing and carding facilities
- (iii) Spinning—distribution of raw wool and collection of spun yarn
- (iv) Dyeing of yarn—provision of furnace, vats, etc. Rs. 5000
- (b) Weaving through registered weavers on piece-rate basis.
- (c) Post-weaving processes:
To arrange for post-weaving processes:
 - (i) Miling/washing
 - (ii) Ironing and calendering

SCHEDULE E: BASIC RAW MATERIAL AND EQUIPMENT REQUIREMENT OF A WEAVING HOUSEHOLD

I. Equipment and materials requirement for household

- (i) *Loom*
 - (a) For lois, Chaddar/pitloom (throw loom approximate price Rs. 300)
Weaving common sizes $1\frac{1}{2} \times 1$ yd
 - (b) For tweeds/Fly shuttle common size 2×2 yds $1\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ yds Approximate price Rs. 500
- (ii) *Other Equipment*
 - (a) Charkha Rs. 60 to Rs. 80

(b) Dastak (bobbins Magazine)	Rs. 25
(c) Assorted frames for making hankies, thread balls, bobbins	Rs. 40 to Rs. 50
(iii) <i>Raw Material</i>	
Provision of 20 to 24 kg of wool per month to provide work for 25 days Requirements may vary from product to product	Approximately Rs. 900 if 100 per cent indige- nous wool With the use of some percentage of merino wool it may go up to Rs. 1200

III-5 Anti-Model: Don'ts for Planners of Rural Women's Employment Projects

The Sikki project offers a methodological caveat to planners and organisers of women's projects. It illustrates the drawbacks of the ad-hoc establishment of uneconomic ventures that are supported on grants from sponsoring agencies and emphasises the need to establish a self-generating unit. It focuses attention on the significance of an efficient marketing strategy in which the production unit is closely involved. The coordination of workers' economic gains with extra-economic inputs is also revealed as an important instrument for integrating rural women-workers and their families in the process of economic development.

Specifically, the investigation of the Sikki project suggests the following DON'Ts for organisers of women's projects.

- Avoid setting up a unit which is not oriented towards commercial viability, i.e. a unit that is a mere extension link of an official agency. The field unit must have in it the seeds of self-generating growth and financially autonomous functioning. A unit which 'puts out' work to home-based workers must do so within a commercially viable framework. Marketing of products must also be conducted by the unit itself with assistance, if necessary, from supporting institutions. However, complete reliance on supporting institutions must be avoided;
- Avoid marketing a product before marketability has been researched and established. Through market feed-back and product innovation, the product must be tailored to market demand. There may be a need for intermediate processing or 'finishing' by a technically equipped sub-unit of the organisation to enhance the market value of the rural workers' product;
- Don't allow overhead agencies to withdraw support suddenly. An overhead agency which has extended physical and staff support would be required to foster the unit for a minimum period of six months to a year;

- Don't appoint personnel to the unit on any considerations other than professional competence. Claims of candidates on the basis of local residence or contacts with local agencies or ethnicity may be rejected. Personnel must possess the necessary technical and managerial qualifications and must be exposed regularly to refresher training courses. A cadre of technically competent and committed workers is an important contributory factor to the success of a commercial organisation. Under-staffing as a measure of economy is likely to prove as counter-productive as over-staffing.
- Don't limit the relationship of the organisers and staff with workers to 'tool room' contact. Encourage personal contact to introduce concepts of health care, literacy, small savings, knowledge of local political and administrative systems, etc. so that the workers are strengthened both in their economic and their social lives;
- Avoid beaming general welfare programmes at the workers' families. The needs of women, especially women-workers are unique, and they may require indirect back-up support to enable them to accept the offer of employment. For instance, women's most urgent need may be the provision of a creche or reduction in the time spent on fuel collection rather than the provision of more work;
- Avoid making payments only to the man-head of the household in a family enterprise. This convention discriminates against the woman-family-workers, and is also prejudicial to the entire family. There is sufficient evidence to show that women allocate their income predominantly to food, thus benefiting family health directly.

